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The Utah State Historical Society was organized in 1897 by public-spirited Utahns to collect, preserve, and publish Utah and related history. Today, under state sponsorship, the Society fulfills its obligations by publishing the *Utah Historical Quarterly* and other historical materials; collecting historic Utah artifacts; locating, documenting, and preserving historic and prehistoric buildings and sites; and maintaining a specialized research library. Donations and gifts to the Society's programs, museum, or its library are encouraged, for only through such means can it live up to its responsibility of preserving the record of Utah's past.

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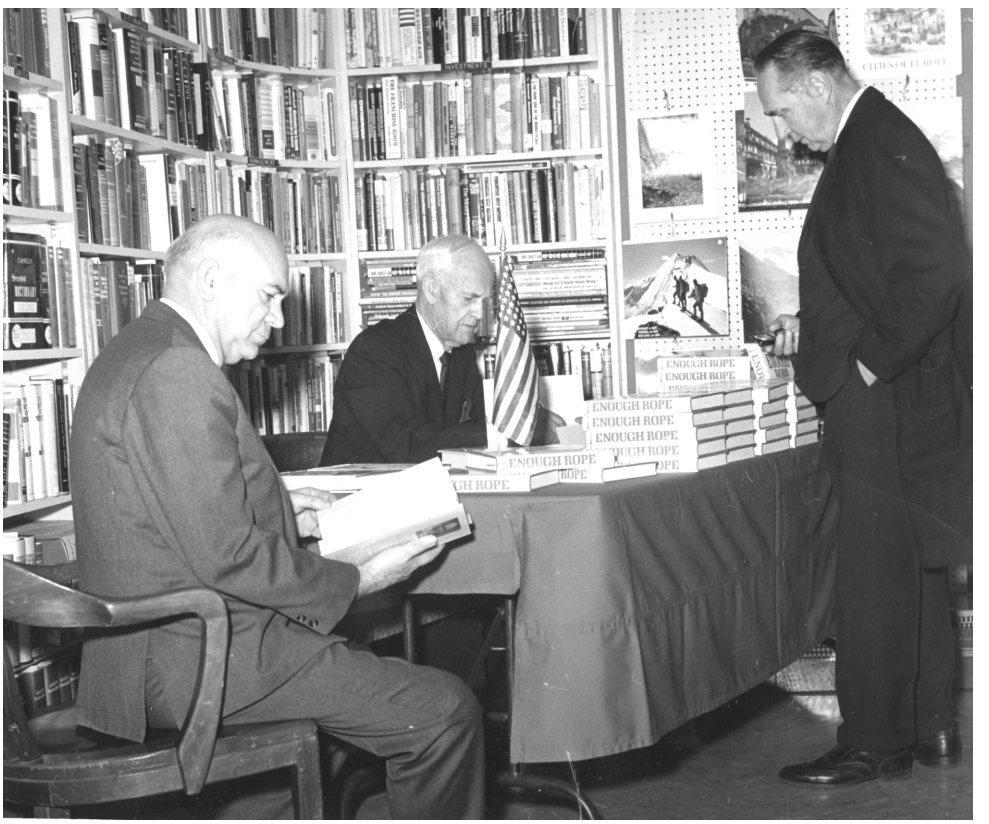

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Periodically it is useful for historians to take a long view of the past to identify major events and trends over a specific period of time and to assess the current status of their discipline. As we reached the middle of the first decade of the twenty-first century Floyd A. O'Neil, one of Utah's senior historians and Fellow of the Utah State Historical Society, was invited to give the keynote address at the 2005 Utah State Historical Society Annual Meeting and offer his observations about the significant developments in Utah history during the twentieth century and his assessment of topics and issues that still need attention. That address, printed here as the first article in our Spring issue, offers valuable insights about Utah during the last century and what issues and topics still need attention by the next generation of Utah historians in the ongoing endeavor to provide a more complete understanding of Utah's past.

One area given considerable attention by historians in the last half of the twentieth century, but still in need of further study, is the story of immigration to Utah. Our second article looks at immigration by Dutch Mormons in the last half of the nineteenth century. Although the Dutch in general were not prone to leaving their homeland, the story of those who did make

the journey across the Atlantic and on to Utah provides a more complete understanding of Utah's immigration history.

Our nineteenth century ancestors would likely be shocked at the state of dress or undress of their twenty-first century descendants that is depicted in the photography, advertising, magazines, films, and on television today. But if the adage is true that we cannot know where we are unless we know where we have been, then our third article that looks at risqué photographs in the last decade of the nineteenth century and first decade of the twentieth century offers helpful insights in understanding changes that happened a hundred years ago and their role in the emergence of our society today.

Another theme that prevailed throughout most of the twentieth century is the ideological conflict between democracy and communism. While the fires of that conflict have not yet been completely extinguished and the legacy of the Cold War is likely to shape attitudes and policy for years to come, the end of the Soviet Union in 1991 was a preeminent event of the twentieth century. Utah's Senator William H. King fought for such a goal from the first days of the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 until 1941 and the end of his service in the United States Senate. Markku Ruotsila, a young Finnish scholar trained in England at Cambridge University, recounts the story of Senator King who despised communism and saw military intervention by the United States as a justifiable measure to thwart communism in Russia.

The last article in this issue recounts the leadership of Utah State Agricultural College President E.G. Peterson in providing an environment where the Logan school could help train hundreds of students and United States military personnel before and during World War II and earn for his school the nickname "West Point of the West."

Thanks to the efforts of our five scholars, the Spring issue offers an inviting bouquet of historiography, immigration, social, political, international, military, and general history.

OPPOSITE: Arthur Vivian Watkins, a native of Midway, Utah, was elected to the United States Senate in 1946 and served two terms until 1959. In 1954 he chaired a Senate Select Committee, which recommended censure for Wisconsin senator Joseph McCarthy. His book* Enough Rope *provides an informative account of the investigation and the excesses of McCarthyism. In this 1969 photograph, Watkins, seated at a table in Sam Weller's Zion Book Store, autographs copies of his book.

ON THE COVER: A native of Fillmore, Utah, William Henry King served two non-consecutive terms in the United States House of Representatives from 1896 to 1902 and four terms in the United States Senate from 1916 to 1941. U.S. SENATE HISTORICAL OFFICE

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Utah's Twentieth Century History: Reprise and Nostrums

By FLOYD A. O'NEIL

In this address I shall attempt to briefly survey some major events in twentieth-century Utah. Then using the historical framework, I will suggest what areas of our state's history need expansion. Each person who has lived a substantial portion of the twentieth century would have a different list of what the major events in Utah were. This is personal and I will not argue with any who would see a different list. But let me review some highlights that have shaped our history.

The twentieth century can be said to have come in with a bang. That great bang was the explosion of the coalmine at Winter Quarters, Utah, which took two hundred lives. It was one of the worst mining disasters in the history of the nation and the worst in Utah's history. The first decade was also characterized by a major labor strike in the coalfields of eastern Utah, the visit to Utah by Mother Jones, and the breaking of the union strikes by using the state militia. All of this indicates the power of the great corporations throughout the country, and there were many in Utah, but none with more power than the railroad and the mine companies; among them the Union Pacific, the Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad, Utah Copper, and many others. We

Caskets containing the bodies of some of the two hundred coal miners killed in the Winter Quarters explosion on May 1, 1900, at the Scofield train station awaiting shipment to towns throughout Utah.

Floyd A. O'Neil is a fellow of the Utah State Historical Society and Director Emeritus of the American West Center, University of Utah. This paper was presented as the Utah History Address at the Annual Meeting of the Utah State Historical Society, September 15, 2005, Salt Lake City, Utah.

should not be surprised that there was a national response called the Progressive movement at the turn of the century whose adherents had as a part of their agenda to ameliorate the conditions of the laboring classes.[1]

In the first decade came the Reed Smoot hearings in the United States Senate. After a Herculean battle, Smoot was seated in the Senate. The Mormon church issued the second manifesto indicating that anyone who practiced polygamy would be excommunicated. These were epic changes in the state. Also in the first decade came the end of the agricultural frontier in Utah. It happened in July of 1905 when President Theodore Roosevelt opened the Uintah Reservation for settlement. There was a land rush; the Indian lands were taken away, many more farms were sold than should have been, and the abandonment rate was remarkable. So outraged were the Utes at the opening that four hundred of them left the Uintah-Ouray Reservation and migrated to South Dakota, where they joined the Sioux with the U.S. Army following them. After two years of poverty and struggle, the Utes were brought back to the Uintah-Ouray Reservation with no hopes of challenging the powers of the federal government. The U.S. military presence at Ft. Duchesne ceased. The so-called Indian frontier was also ended.[2] Agriculture changed in this period with the expansion of the beet industry and crops for cash, including those that went to the canneries for shipping outside of the borders of the state: peas, beans, tomatoes, and other vegetables became far more important. The decade was characterized by the continuation of a heavy immigration into Utah from southern Europe: Italy, Greece, and the former Austrian Empire. These three regions provided the greatest number of immigrants that came to the state.[3] It is sometimes forgotten in our history that it was also a decade of the rapid expansion of schools. The state constitution, which allowed for the implementation of statehood in 1896, required public education, and therefore Utahns contributed very heavy taxes for the construction and maintenance of schools.[4]

The nineteen-teens saw the great Utah Copper strike and the further use of the militia to control labor. The strike at Utah Copper also attracted national attention and brought to the state a representative of the radical unions, a Swedish immigrant named Joe Hill who was also a poet. Hill was

[1] See, Allan Kent Powell, *The Next Time We Strike: Labor in Utah's Coal Fields, 1900-1933* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1985). See also Arthur Link, *American Epoch* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958), 68-69.

[2] See Craig Woods Fuller, "Land Rush in Zion: Opening of the Uncompahgre and Uintah Indian Reservations" (Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1990). Many historians have seen the end of the Indian frontier as the incident at Wounded Knee in 1890. The odyssey of the Utes indicates something different. See Floyd A. O'Neil, "An Anguished Odyssey: The Flight of the Utes, 1906-1908," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 36 (Fall 1968) 315-27.

[3] See Helen Z. Papanikolas, ed., *The Peoples of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1976).

[4] The first tax-supported public school was started in 1888. The first Superintendent of Public Education, John R. Park tried to help the smaller districts by consolidation. See Ralph V. Chamberlain, *Memories of John R. Park* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1949).

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Ute Indians in South Dakota. The seated figure is Red Cap, a member of the White River Band of Utes and one of the leaders of the Ute migration to South Dakota in 1906.

accused of murder in Salt Lake City and was finally executed at the state penitentiary in Sugar House, but his trial and the activities of Governor William Spry attracted worldwide condemnation for the courts and the treatment of labor. Joe Hill's execution was a newspaper bonanza in the United States and was covered widely in Europe and Latin America.[5] World War I began in August of 1914. Europe's need for materials and food meant that the United States had for the first time in its history a massive trade balance in favor of the nation. For the first time in our history, we became a creditor nation. Before that date one of the heaviest crosses we had to carry was being a debtor nation. We remained a creditor nation until the administration of Ronald Reagan and have been a debtor nation since. It is interesting to me that three of the first four governors of Utah were foreign-born: John C. Cutler, born in Great Britain, and served from

[5] On the Bingham strike, see Helen Z. Papanikolas, "Life and Labor Among the Immigrants of Bingham Canyon," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 33 (Fall 1965): 289-315; Gunther Peck, "Padrones and Protest: 'Old' Radicals and 'New' Immigrants in Bingham, Utah, 1905-1912," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 24 (May 1993): 157-78; and Philip J. Mellinger, *Race and Labor in Western Copper: The Fight for Equality, 1896-1918* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995). On Joe Hill, see Gibbs M. Smith, *Joe Hill* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1969); and Governor William Spry Correspondence, Joseph Hillstrom Case, Petitions, Series 6445, Utah State Archives.

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Utah sugar beets awaiting processing. The girl holds a cleaned beet in her right hand and a glass containing the amount of sugar the beet will yield in her left.

1904 to 1908 as a Republican; William Spry immigrated from England and was governor for two terms (1908-1916); and Simon Bamberger, a Democrat who was born in Germany. Bamberger was the second Jew elected to the office of governor (1916-1920) in the history of the nation. (Our neighbor state to the north, Idaho, elected Moses Alexander in 1914.) Bamberger was a remarkable man: he was pro-labor; he was instrumental in improving the state's railroad systems; he was also convinced that motorized vehicles were the future, and therefore his work on improving the road system was a pioneering effort.

Woodrow Wilson led us into World War I in 1917. The overwhelming response of the young men of Utah to enter into the army and perform well put to rest the ancient canard that the Mormons were not loyal Americans. The graves of dead Mormon servicemen ended all that. Both agriculture and mining soared very rapidly both in volume and profits during this period. But before the decade had ended, mining was already receding rather than expanding and agriculture was soon to follow.

In the 1920s Utah entered—like much of the nation—in a kind of a hysteria called the "Red Scare." The raids of United States Attorney General Palmer and the reaction of the Utah Legislature to pass criminal syndicalism laws, indicate a measure of paranoia which would be seen again later. Utah was badly split over the issue of the League of Nations. Utahns believed as most Americans did that our two oceans would protect us. The 1920s was a period of the decline of Progressives in politics, the Democrats were often beleaguered, and there was a rising Republican tide. In Utah, there was a collapse of farm prices followed by a collapse in metal prices,

which brought a recessionary economy that was to last throughout the decade.

In 1925, we saw the last lynching in Utah—the sad story of Robert Marshall indicates the sentiments of the times.[6] And speaking about the mentality of the times, it was the time of increasing use of the automobile —autos, gas, and travel-related activities were the only areas of major expansion in the economy. Along with autos came a change in fashions. Flappers, the rise of the level of skirts clear to the knee, jazz music. Hell had arrived, even in Utah. In 1927 the Mormon church president imposed sterner standards by requiring adherence to the Word of Wisdom, rather than its advisory role to that time. Giving up one's coffee became a major theme.

And then came the crash. Add the Great Depression to a long disruptive recession and you have the stressful condition that faced Utah for its fourth decade. The Depression hit Utah early, deep, and extensive. It was an interesting thing to see the churches—Mormon, Catholic, and others—struggle to try to provide charity to so many people. After heroic efforts, they were unable to meet the minimal needs of the poor. In the election of 1932, Governor Henry Blood, a Democrat, was elected. He received advice from the Mormon church not to become involved in the acceptance of funds from the federal government. The Depression was so deep that in his first inaugural, Blood indicated that he would look to the federal government for assistance. In that same election, the Mormon Apostle and U. S. Senator Reed Smoot was defeated by an almost unknown Democrat and political science and history professor from the University of Utah named Elbert D. Thomas. At this time also came another deep shock to the churches of Utah, that is, except for the Catholics. The effort to end the Eighteenth Amendment, which had created prohibition, the Twenty-first Amendment needed one additional state vote to make it a part of the Constitution, canceling the Eighteenth Amendment. In a vote that shocked the state very deeply Utah cast the deciding vote that added the Twenty-first Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The vote was logical. Since the Eighteenth Amendment was passed, bootlegging in Utah was a very energetic industry.[7] The Depression was so deep and so longlasting in Utah that at its depth, Utah received from the federal treasury seven dollars for every dollar it sent in taxes. It was so severe that at one time Duchesne County had more than 70 percent of its total population on public welfare. It is hard to think of the riots that occurred at the Salt Lake City and County Building over the auctioning off of farms. Farmers as protestors in Utah? Yes.[8] The Democrats dominated all levels of government. By the mid decade only

[6] For a discussion on lynching of Robert Marshall see Larry R. Gerlach, "Justice Denied: The Lynching of Robert Marshall," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 66 (Fall 1998): 355-64.

[7] See Helen Z. Papanikolas, "Bootlegging in Zion: Making and Selling the 'Good Stuff'" *Utah Historical Quarterly* 53 (Summer 1985): 268-91.

[8] Richard Poll, et. al., *Utah History*, (Provo, Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 485.

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Mr. and Mrs. Bertolina, Italian immigrants, stand in front of their house in Helper c. 1914.

one Republican remained in the State Senate, and the New Deal with all of its alphabet soup programs dominated the Utah economy. Reclamation projects were an important part of that effort.

In 1940, the Depression was hanging on deeper and longer than in most of the rest of the United States. The Democrats were in control and had won the election of 1940, although the Republicans made some gains. There came to the State House in Utah an unusual man; his name was Herbert Maw. The war in Europe had caused the rise in prices of metals, foods, and other items important to the pursuing of the war. Utah was blessed by its strategic geographical location. There were railroads that led from the Wasatch Front to the Pacific coast in three areas, and because the state was far enough inland enemy carrier based bombers could not reach the area. The result was a great amount of expansion. That wild growth is too wide to address here. But let me say that Governor Maw in 1941 had already started an industrial development and publicity division of government to attract industries. He was effective. The leader he chose for heading the expansion was Ora Bundy, who was also a drumbeater. Maw and Bundy helped bring a war economy to Utah. Thirty-eight percent of federal dollars for the Mountain West came to Utah during that war. It is probable that the year 1943 is the only year in the century when incomes

in Utah were above the national average. (Utah had been and is now a state with income per job at a low level.)[9]

The post-war transition was a difficult one because of our dependence on war industry. It is true that in 1948 Harry Truman could carry Utah, but in the same year an ultra-conservative and former mayor of Price named J. Bracken Lee replaced Governor Maw and Lee's election was an indication of the rise of the political right wing. In July of 1947 the centennial of the arrival of the Mormon Pioneers was celebrated extravagantly. This Is the Place Monument indicates the measure of devotion to the pioneers.

Starting in 1950, the Korean War ended the economic lull, which had visited Utah, and we were back into a war economy and prosperity was very much greater. Along with that war came a second period of remarkable paranoia; McCarthyism visited Utah with much vigor. Liberal Democrats were defeated. An interesting aspect of this period is that a U.S. Senator from Utah, Arthur V. Watkins, headed the investigating committee, which returned with a recommendation of censure to Joseph R. McCarthy. Watkins showed real courage, but his actions were not uniformly hailed in Utah as the correct political posture.[10] Watkins was also deeply involved in one of the saddest of the activities of the 1950s, the termination from federal assistance of Utah's Paiute tribe. The Navajos and Utes in Utah escaped, but the defenseless Paiutes of southwestern Utah were terminated. Their reentry into the system was a heroic effort.[11] The 1950s was also a period of a long struggle between two governors and the schoolteachers and others involved in education. Both Governor Lee and his successor, George Dewey Clyde (1956-1964), held the reins on spending for education, as the population of young continued to expand.

The growing educational crisis from elementary to higher education finally led to a change in leadership in the state's executive branch in the 1960s. While the education fight continued, one would ask: Where would the money come from? The remarkable spending by the U.S. Congress on Cold War armaments provided the answer to this question. President Lyndon Johnson and the Congress introduced the War on Poverty. Also increasing our economic well-being was the tragic war in Vietnam. In 1964, Calvin L. Rampton, a strong supporter of public schools, was elected governor and served for three terms.[12] In 1968 there was a tilt to the Republicans. It began then and has not changed. For instance, in 1968

[9] Ibid., 713.

[10] J. Bracken Lee challenged Watkins for the Republican nomination for the U.S. Senate in 1956. When Lee lost, he ran as an independent. This split the vote, and Frank E. Moss, a Democrat, was elected. For Arthur Watkins' account of the censure proceedings see his *Enough Rope* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1969).

[11] See Forrest S. Cuch, ed., *A History of Utah's American Indians* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Division of Indian Affairs/Utah Division of State History, 2000). On the Paiutes consult, Ronald L. Holt, *Beneath These Red Cliffs: An Ethnology of the Utah Paiutes* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992).

[12] See Floyd A. O'Neil and Gregory C. Thompson, eds. *Calvin Rampton, As I Recall* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989).

Richard Nixon garnered 324,000 Utah votes to George McGovern's 126,000, or more than two and one half times the votes for the Democrat. I find it interesting in looking at this decade that the Federal Area Redevelopment Administration gave a grant of $1,232,000 to the United Park City Mines as an anti-poverty grant to help revive an economically depressed area. It was hoped that some tourism could be developed.

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Members of the Greek community in Utah pose for a portrait. Mr. Halles (standing, left) was the confectioner for the Intermountain Greeks for more than fifty years.

In 1972, Richard Nixon was able to carry Utah with no difficulty whatever. But what followed was a disaster called "Watergate." Two offices in the Democratic Party's national headquarters were burgled. One of those offices belonged to a Utah woman, Jean Miles Westwood, who was the chair of the Democratic National Committee. In this decade, the Indians were treated far better, and one of the nation's best presidents for assisting American Indian tribes to govern themselves and develop economically was Richard Nixon. The decade saw the decline in mining and a commensurate decline of union membership and activities. The number of Utahns involved in labor unions was reduced substantially. Compared to national standards Utah wages sagged well below national averages, and there has been little recovery since.[13] An epic-making event of the 1970s was LDS church president Spencer Kimball's action to extend the Mormon Priesthood to all males. While this liberalization was going on, the LDS Church in the 1970s opposed the Equal Rights Amendment and the International Women's Year indicating the extent of the opposition of the LDS Church.[14] By 1976 the Republicans in the state were so much in

[13] State of Utah, Council of Economic Advisors, *2001 Economic Report to the Governor* (Salt Lake City, 2001), 51, fig.16.

[14] Martha Sonntag Bradly, *Pedestals and Podiums: Utah Women, Religious Authority, and Equal Rights* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2005).

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Simon Bamberger, governor of Utah from 1917 to 1921 and the first Jew to be elected governor in Utah, sits at his desk in the Utah State Capitol Building on August 4, 1917.

control that Gerald Ford received 240,000 votes and Jimmy Carter received 180,000—Utah was in the right lane politically. In the Sagebrush Rebellion, the rebels wanted more control over land and jurisdiction in the West. They were not able to implement the changes they had hoped for. There was the expansion of the national parks, of ski areas, and of recreation and tourism in Utah. It has remained crucial to our economic stability and is now our largest industry.

The period from 1980 to1989 was a period of intense involvement in the Cold War. Under Ronald Reagan, military spending became a flood compared to previous federal spending. This decade was a period of expansion of small businesses. Technology increased as an industry. WordPerfect is one of the examples. And then there was a man named Mark Hoffman who created a new industry in the sale of forged historical documents. Historians were giddy. The pro-business posture of Utah continued.

In the 1990s there was rapid demographic change.[15] A new threat emerged: so much of the population expansion was among the elderly and children that the number of workers as a comparison was small. The fact that our workers were lower paid than the national average presented and presents a major problem. During the 1990s, while prosperous nationally, Utah saw the attempt to recruit higher paying jobs marginalized. University research became a bigger part of the economy than people had ever dreamed could happen. But the '90s are so recent that it makes a historian ill at ease to analyze that decade.

NOSTRUMS

What we know about twentieth-century Utah is enhanced by one publication more than any other. The *Utah Historical Quarterly* has been and is that journal with the widest range of subjects and the widest reach. The

[15] State of Utah, *2001 Economic Report to the Governor*, 180, fig. 58.

sources for Utah history are immense—Utahns are people who document their activities very well. Articles in journals and books pour out upon us. In all of this outpouring, would one dare to recommend subjects that should or might be covered? Yes—if seized with immodesty. In the preceding century, Utah as part of the nation fought four major wars. These wars affected Utah in profound ways. The economy of the state was greatly enhanced by war. Could we see a major monograph on Utah and the wars of the twentieth century? Of the fifty states, Utah is unique for having only one religious majority dominate in every year of the century. What has this produced? This unusual mix has influenced Utah's politics, economics, social mores, immigration, education, civil rights, and many more areas. Has the meaning of this experience been explained in any depth? One hears many opinions on this subject, but little research and writing is backed up by historical evidence. Does this make us better off, worse off, or just different? It would be interesting to see a book on our legislative history. When statehood was achieved, national figures feared that Utahns would vote as a bloc. This chart provides a quick view of this voting behavior in Utah:

Year	State Legislative Body	Republicans	Democrats
1909	House	43	2
1921		46	1
1937		4	56
1967		59	10
1900	Senate	2	14
1919		0	18
1923		19	1
1937		1	22
1967		23	5

Were we a state of herd instinct voters? And then we have Congress. Members of Congress are the ones who can best be described as the beleaguered schizoids. We send them to Congress from either party to be disciplined conservatives; but they better bring home the pork or they won't go back!

The cast of characters needs added description. From the beginning of the century to the 1970s there was a significant left wing in Utah politics and society. The strikers of 1903, the Socialist Party power peaking in about 1912, the copper strike, Joe Hill, Big Bill Haywood, the Red Scare of the 1920s, the criminal syndicalism laws of the 1920s, their use against the Communists' coal strikers in the 1930s, red baiting in the 1950s, the anti-war—and, otherwise, radicals of the 1970s. Is this theme worthy of a book? And while dealing with this subject, a second volume speaks out to us.

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Bill Lines and Sheriff Marion Bliss discover bootlegging equipment in Price, Utah, during Prohibition in the late 1920s.

McCarthyism in Utah was alive and well. The elections of that era, the posture of one governor, the hysteria of the time is a compelling topic. Is it worthy of a book?

A demographic anomaly exists which needs more research. Utah is the only state in the West where out-migration has outdistanced in-migration. What caused this phenomenon? Why? Is there a brain drain? Geographers, economists, demographers, and historians: please give us a detailed set of answers. The evocation of Thomas Malthus reverberates in our heads. And speaking of Malthus and his ilk, how shall we interpret the spectacular birth rate in our state?[16] As the geometric pattern of Malthus inundates our state I predict that scholars will look with renewed interest to this phenomenon. With Mormons and Catholics as our two largest religious groups, future restraint cannot be expected. This also implies a problem of immense dimension for the public schools. With expenditure per child already at the lowest level of any state, the impending tide will produce increased fiscal trauma. When historians look back to the twentieth century, their evaluation of the past will prove interesting. How closely is this subject related to the earlier subject of out-migration?

How much do we know of the history of technology and engineering in our state? Low-grade ores and their processing, the great trestle over the Great Salt Lake, irrigation projects in every likely and some unlikely places, long highways with little taxable wealth on either side of the road—these are but a few of the subjects possible for such a work. Utah was founded as an agricultural society. We now produce only about 10 percent of the food we consume. What happened and why? Nineteenth century personal journals are very extensive. They are used to great effect. Twentieth century journals are far less used. How many exist? Do we use them well enough? Are we preserving them for future historians? Professor William Mulder's family journal is an example of how useful these twentieth century manuscripts are.[17]

The history of education in Utah is a daunting subject. Most university

[16] *Ibid*.

[17] William Mulder, trans. and ed., "From Haarlam to Hoboken: Pages from a Dutch Mormon Immigrant Diary," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 64 (Fall 1996): 209-21.

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Visitors to This Is the Place Monument in June 1955, just eight years after the monument's construction.

histories are histories of individual schools. In general they are self-congratulatory. In the description of elementary and secondary education, an avalanche of theses and dissertations are of less help than one might expect. In writing about education, it is extremely difficult to get readers' attention. Almost everyone has the idea that they already have the answers. Those who know the most have fewer solutions. Yet, it is an area that needs illumination, especially well-documented contributions.

I now turn my attention to an area fraught with danger—Mormons and non-Mormons in Utah. A few years ago while researching in the National Archives, a fellow researcher asked: "Where are you from?" "Salt Lake City," I replied. He then asked: "Are you a Mormon?" My response was: "Are you a Buddhist?" He laughed and opined that Utah was the only state where its residents are asked to identify their religious faith, if they have a faith. Rather defensively he stated that so many from Utah had knocked on his door that I should expect some reaction. Isn't being a Utahn enough?

Probably no Christian group in America dwells on its past as do the Mormons. With publishing houses—*Deseret News,* Deseret Book, Bookcraft; in addition, the Church History Office—the output is massive. To these official sources add to the stream *Sunstone, Dialogue, Journal of Mormon History*, Signature Books and university presses such as Illinois, Utah State, and the University of Utah, to name a few. The keeping of journals is still more common than with the population in general. But for all of that, it still is directed to a portion of Utah's people. It would be unfair to say that Mormons dominate Utah history. It would likewise be unfair to say that Mormon history does not dominate Utah history; inevitably so. Where there is such preponderance the experience of the minority needs to be explored and documented perhaps even more than in other situations. In the twentieth century we had the talented and determined Helen Zeese Papanikolas who gave us direction and inspiration for inclusion of all groups. Certainly the minor groups are far better described because of her influence. Persons not of the majority need their history. In a recent class at the University of Utah, I assigned a book to a

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Throughout the last half of the twentieth century, tourism became an important part of the Utah economy. Here, tourists ride horseback in Bryce Canyon National Park.

student relating to his ancestry. In his book review he wrote:

> Both of my parents are immigrants from Greece; my father came here as a child and my mother was a picture bride wife who came here to Utah when she was twenty. Growing up in Utah, I have always felt that I had no place or history in this state, since I was not of the mainstream Utah culture. After reading *Toil and Rage in a New Land,* I found out that not only do I have a place in Utah but I have a place in Utah's history as well.[18]

Many decades ago when I trained to be a schoolteacher, I was informed that my role would be to pass on the culture and pass the culture on. Ah! There's the rub—how do we describe something so diverse without becoming burdened in detail or trivialize our curriculum. Spanning so many cultures has been done well by the *Utah Historical Quarterly*. Universities have contributed as well, as have a variety of others. It is not enough. For those who are born and raised here and still feel alien and apart beg us to publish more of their experience. Theirs is also a responsibility to sponsor study of their groups, as the Italian-Americans are doing currently. This is particularly true since Utah is becoming so much more diverse.

And then there is biography. Many deserve more detailed accounts of their experiences. I shall list a few:

- George Sutherland**,** the only Utahn to serve on the Supreme Court of the United States.
- Jean Miles Westwood of West Jordan, Utah, the first woman to chair the Democratic Party of the United States. As previously mentioned, hers was one of the two offices burgled at Watergate.
- Herbert Maw, the Governor of Utah who exerted great influence in expanding the state's economy, established our fiscal tradition, and saved Geneva Steel from closure. His story is a high priority in my list.
- Maurice Abravanel—Need I say more?

[18] Ted Condas student review of Helen Z. Papanikolas, *Toil and Rage in a New Land: The Greek Immigrants in Utah*, *Utah Historical Quarterly* 38 (Spring 1970).

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

A skier on the Wasatch Mountain pass between Brighton and Midway on December 22, 1965.

• Thomas Kearns—Of course!

• Arthur V. Watkins—A compelling challenge!

• John Held, Jr.—A national figure in American cultural history.

• Spencer W. Kimball—A hero who taught us that humanity is one.

• Marriner S. Eccles, in spite of his memoir *Beckoning Frontiers*. His influence in the F. D. Roosevelt administration and his economic theories have cast long shadows over the fiscal and monetary policies in the U.S. in the twentieth century. A new biography would be most welcome.

• Simon Bamberger, industrialist, entrepreneur, reformer, Governor—his time is overdue.

• Reed Smoot—Not just the Smoot hearings.

• Cyrus Dallin—Artist, sculptor, museum founder. Better known in Boston than in his home state.

• Frank Moss—National parks are a part of his legacy. His other accomplishments deserve attention, especially reclamation, care of the elderly, smoking rules on airlines, to name a few.

• Helen Zeese Papanikolas—No comment necessary.

• Reva Beck Basone—First woman from Utah in Congress; lawyer, judge, feminist, sassy and wise.

Each of you could add to the items and the persons on this list. Our state's vibrant and interesting past deserves clear-eyed, factual and mature histories. Given the materials and the experience of our recent past, we can expect refinement and expansion of our discipline. We are blessed with institutions, collections, and a historical society of dedication and merit. Let us hope that this century will describe the past century with clarity. Historians of the twenty-first century will be busy indeed.

LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES

This monument erected in 1936 commemorates the place where the first converts to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the Netherlands were baptized on October 1, 1861.

From the Dikes to the Desert: The First Dutch Mormons in Utah in the Last Half of the 1800s

By JANET SJAARDA SHEERES

While the Dutch, in their long seafaring history, were often in the forefront of commercial enterprises around the world, they failed to colonize their various outposts. Even those who sought their livelihood abroad did so with the express intent to return home. The Dutch were homebodies who held to the maxim *Oost west, thuis best* (East or west, home is best). Emigration was considered abnormal and only for the desperate. In 1790 the Dutch made up only 2.5

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percent of the United States population, and that percentage has remained unchanged two hundred years later.

Two conditions in the mid-1800s, however, drove many Dutch to defy the disapproval of their neighbors and emigrate: poor economic conditions and religious intolerance.[1] In 1847 the Reverends Albertus Van Raalte and Hendrik Scholte led large groups of emigrants to found Dutch settlements in Holland, Michigan, and Pella, Iowa.[2] Their exodus from Holland was motivated in part by a desire to worship without government interference. In the same year Brigham Young, succeeding to the leadership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, led a large group of followers to Utah. While the followers of Reverends Van Raalte and Scholte were Dutch, the followers of Young were mainly American-born converts or immigrants from the British Isles and Canada.

Unlike the steady increase of Dutch immigrants to Iowa and Michigan, the two principle locations for Dutch settlements during the second half of the nineteenth century, Utah's Dutch population remained very small during this same period. Thirteen years after the settlement of Salt Lake City, there were only eleven persons presumably of Dutch nationality residing in the Utah Territory: John A. Ninde, Martin and Gertrude Sydelaar, John, Ann and John Madison, J. Fairbank, Wm. Johnston, D. Holmes, B. Cowen and H. D. Thall. The three members of the Madison family were listed on the passenger records as coming from Germany.[3] It is likely the census taker misunderstood the Madison as being "Dutch" when they indicated they were "Deutsch." The same may be said for John Ninde, whose son's census data lists John as being born in Bavaria. Five others, all young men whose names are not at all Dutch, were miners in Gold Hill and Virginia City, in what is now Nevada. The remaining two, Martin and Gertrude Sydelaar, were bona-fide Dutch citizens. Martin was born in Dordrecht, the Netherlands, in 1824, where he married Gertrude Marcusse.[4] However, there were five more Dutch nationals in Utah by

[1] The Dutch tolerance of, and being a haven for, other religions (Jews, Pilgrims, Huguenots) so prevalent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries ended in 1816 when King William I reorganized the Reformed Church, making it the Netherlands's state church. When in 1834 dissenters, unhappy with the state's involvement in the church, wanted to form their own denomination, they were denied, and when they persisted, the ensuing ostracism and harassment caused many of them to emigrate.

[2] Johan Stellingwerff, *Amsterdamse Emigranten, onbekende brieven uit de prairie van Iowa 1846-1873* (Amsterdam: Buijten & Schipperheijn, 1875), 67, 113. That same year when the Mormons were fleeing Nauvoo, they approached Scholte in St. Louis to suggest the possibility that his group purchase Nauvoo lock, stock, and barrel for his followers. Scholte declined the offer, preferring instead to settle in Marion County, Iowa.

[3] Ann Atterberg, comp., *Historic Research Index: 1853 Mormon Immigrants* in Mormonhistoricsites foundation.org. See also Fred E. Woods and Douglas Atterberg, "The 1853 Mormon Migration through Keokuk," *The Annals of Iowa* 61 (2002), and Frederick H. Piercy, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*, Fawn M. Brodie, ed. (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1962), 91.

[4] The Dutch spelling was Zijderlaar, but in America it was spelled Sydelaar. Thus far, I have been unable to trace their immigration route or when and where the Sydelaars converted to Mormonism. They were also the first Dutch to pass away in Utah. Gertrude died on April 27, 1865, from "general disability." Martin died in November of the same year from "disease of the heart."

1860 that were not listed in the census, namely the Anne Vanderwood family.[5]

Several of the earliest Dutch Mormon converts to settle in Utah were part of immigrant companies in 1853. John Huyskamp, the Sheboygan, Wisconsin, Dutch-weekly newspaper correspondent from Keokuk, Iowa, wrote, "There are nearly 300 Mormons camped near here, recently arrived from Europe, to make their trek to Utah. It is rumored that among them are a few Hollanders." The following week, Huyskamp wrote that he met with one of the Dutch individuals traveling with the Mormon immigrant company. "Some days ago we had the pleasure to make the acquaintance of a trustworthy Hollander, Mr. v. d. W. who has very keenly observed the Mormons here as well as in England while he traveled with more than three hundred Saints from Liverpool to Orleans."[6] Unfortunately, he failed to list all these Hollanders, but Lee County historians Ann and Douglas Attenberg made a study of this group and found among the Saints camped near Keokuk a Dutch family—Anne W. Vanderwood, his wife Siebregtje, and their three children.

While Huyskamp's words about Vanderwood were positive, the remainder of the article about the Mormons was negative. He accused the leaders of misleading their followers, presenting Utah as a paradise and not telling them about the hardships ahead. Huyskamp accused the Mormons of trying to convert the many Dutch people living in the area so that they could become Dutch-speaking missionaries.[7]

Anne Vanderwood was born in Franeker, in the province of Friesland, the Netherlands, on July 12, 1812, one of eleven children. As a young lad he joined his father and sailed to many distant places. He returned to Friesland to marry Siebregtje Zwart in Leeuwarden, Friesland, on April 16, 1843, and made that city his homeport. Sometime between 1849 and 1852 Vanderwood moved his family, which now included three children, to Cardiff, Wales, to engage in ship brokering. Wales and England had flourishing Mormon branches, and during one of the general meetings of Mormons, Anne converted to Mormonism. Elder George Taylor baptized Vanderwood on October 30, 1852. Accepting the urgings of all Mormons that the territory of Utah in the United States was the place where they should begin to build Zion and await Jesus' imminent return, Anne and his family joined this mass migration to Utah.

After being a member of the LDS church for less than six months, Anne Vanderwood and his family joined a fleet of three ships filled with Mormons who began their 4,400-mile journey on January 23, 1853. They sailed from Liverpool on the *SS Golconda* and arrived in New Orleans on

[5] Anne, pronounced Ah-nuh, is a Dutch male name, peculiar to the province of Friesland. The Dutch spelling of the last name was Van der Woude, but in America Anne changed it to Vanderwood and I will keep that spelling throughout.

[6] *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode* (Sheboygan, WI), May 17, 1853.

[7] Ibid.

March 26. A month later, the party had made its way inland to Keokuk, Iowa, where Vanderwood spoke to the *Nieuwsbode* correspondent. If Vanderwood had any regrets about converting to Mormonism and wanted to leave the LDS gracefully, Iowa would have been the perfect time and place. He could easily have settled among the Dutch in Iowa. Indeed, while the rest of the immigrants joined the John Hyde wagon train to Utah, Vanderwood decided to settle in Keokuk until either the summer of 1859 or the spring of 1860. He is listed in the Keokuk business directory of 1859 and in tax records as having property in Keokuk, also his daughter, Trijntje, is listed in the Keokuk marriage records.[8] Vanderwood may well have been ordered to stay in Keokuk to do exactly as the *Nieuwbode* suggested—engage in missionary work among the many Dutch and German settlers pouring into the region.

Even as large numbers of Saints gathered to Utah others became disenchanted with the church and were lured away to California and to other places, Brigham Young continued to encourage all the Saints to gather to Zion. Continued living among the gentiles, Young feared, might lead church members to apostasy. According to Irving Stone, "the Saints were losing faith in their leaders and their religion, and in the promises of their God that they were the Chosen People."[9] The Vanderwoods obeyed this call, left Keokuk and journeyed to Utah where they built a home on the Weber River near Ogden.

Shortly after his arrival in Utah, Vanderwood was asked by Brigham Young in 1861 to return to the Netherlands to do mission work among his own people, in their own language.[10] At the same time Martin Sydelaar was called as a missionary to travel to Cape Town, South Africa, to use his Dutch language skills to convert Dutch-speaking Afrikaners.[11]

Until Vanderwood's arrival in the Netherlands in 1861 the Dutch had not been exposed to Mormonism through contact with the church's missionaries. Vanderwood found proselyting difficult due to much negative press in the Netherlands. The Dutch had read about this new religion that had gained disapproving notoriety in the United States, and as a result the Dutch were not easily persuaded to join the church.[12]

[8] Karen S. Kester and Joyce S. Cowles, compilers, *Marriages, Book Two, Lee County, Iowa* (Fort Madison: Iowa, Cattermole Library, 1982), 71. See also *Williams' Keokuk City Guide & Business Mirror* (Iowa: C.S. Williams, 1859), 99.

[9] Irving Stone, *Men to Match My Mountains: The Opening of the Far West, 1840-1900* (New York: Berkley Books, 1982), 220.

[10] Andrew Jenson, ed., *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret News Publishing Company, 1941), 569. See also William M. Vanderwood, *North by Northwest 1861-1863 Journal of A. W. Vanderwood "Anne Wiegers van der Woude" first LDS missionary in Holland*, trans. by John Van Weezep (Salt Lake City: self-published, 1996), 4.

[11] Evan P. Wright, *A History of the South African Mission* (Salt Lake City: Genealogical Society of Utah, 1984), 1:264-80. An LDS mission was founded in Cape Town, South Africa, in 1853 and in the following decade missionaries were sent to South Africa among them Sydelaar.

[12] For a more detailed account of Vanderwood's mission in the Netherlands, see Janet Sjaarda Sheeres, "The First Mormon Missionary to Friesland: Anne Wiegers van der Woude," *Fryslân, Nieuwsblad voor Geschiedenis en Cultuur* 10 (2004) 2:9-12.

Nevertheless, after two years in the Netherlands, Vanderwood could claim thirty-seven converts. Of those, only Cornelia Ages and Christina Susanna Meyers, both single women, were willing to join him on his trip back to Utah.[13] On June 5, 1863, Vanderwood and his two Dutch travelers boarded the *S.S. Amazon* at Liverpool, along with 895 fellow Mormons from various parts of Europe. Holland's contribution of two Saints to this immigrant company was meager indeed. However, among the converts who stayed in the Netherlands was a fellow Frisian Sybren Van Dyk, who advanced the cause of the church greatly, thereby increasing the number of Dutch emigrants to Utah in the future. Vanderwood baptized Sybren Van Dyk on May 19, 1863, in Leewarden, Van Dyk's hometown.[14] He was ordained an Elder on May 20, 1863. As an Elder, Van Dyk actively preached the Mormon gospel in the Netherlands converting a number of people, including Peter Lammers who in turn became very zealous in teaching and converting many Dutch to the church.[15]

The second person that greatly influenced the church's missionary work in the Netherlands was Timothy Mets. On Saturday, April 4, 1863, Vanderwood noted in his journal that he had met one Timothy Mets in the home of the Johannes Huisman family in Rotterdam.[16] The Huismans belonged to a religious sect called *Nieuwlichters* (New Lighters), and Mets was married to Lydia, one of Huisman's daughters. Timothy Mets had lived in America previously and wanted to return, but Lydia had been reluctant to go.

Because the New Lighters' emigration story is an integral part of early Dutch emigration to Utah, a brief history about them is in order here.[17] In 1812 Stoffel Muller (1771-1833), a Dutch inland bargeman, searching for religious meaning, had an epiphany. According to Muller, the government-salaried Reformed Church clergy of his day did not measure up to being true shepherds of their flocks. He attended some small non-denominational Bible study groups but these did not satisfy him either. Then, one morning, while walking in the fields and meditating, he heard an inner voice say, "For from Him, through Him, and unto Him are all things" (Romans 11:36). Muller had received his answer. Everything, he reasoned, including sin and evil, comes from God and would return to him. The evil things man did were to teach him lessons to become better. Jesus had not come to atone for man's sin, but rather to show man how to live as God intended man to live. When a person died, his soul became part of God. Muller

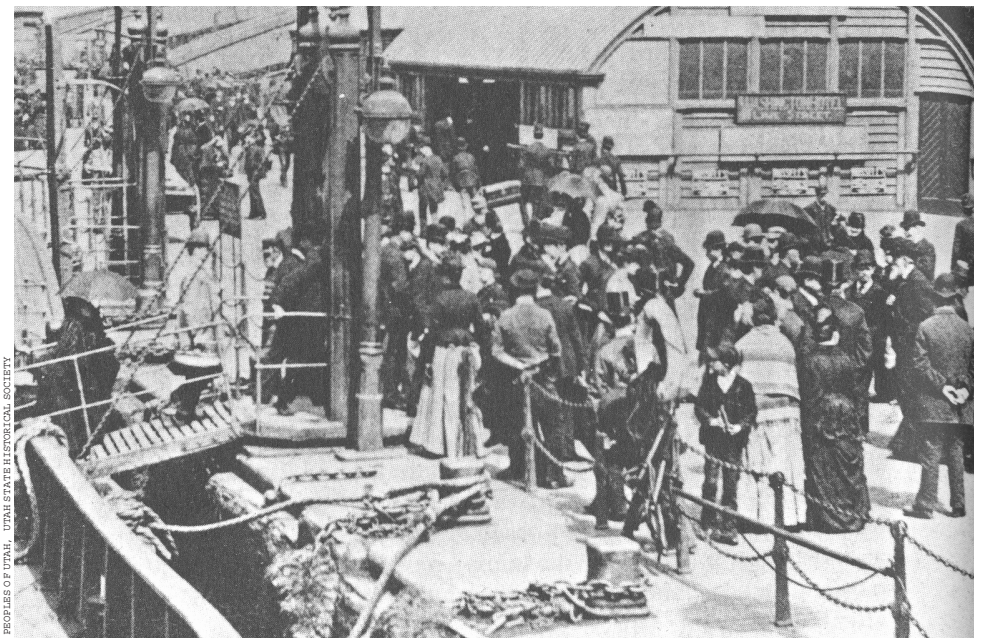
[13] Cornelia Ages married Martin Sydelaar in Utah. To date, I have been unable to find any references to Christina Susanna Meyers.

[14] Friesland is a province of the Netherlands, with a culture and language distinct from the other Dutch provinces. Sybren Van Dyk was born May 22, 1827.

[15] All references to Vanderwood's mission experiences are from Vanderwood, *North by Northwest*.

[16] Ibid., 68.

[17] All references to New Lighter history and doctrine in the Netherlands are from G. P. Marang, *De Zwijndrechtsche Nieuwlichters* (Dordrecht: H. de Graaf, 1909).



PEOPLES OF UTAH, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Most Dutch immigrants sailed first to Liverpool, England, shown in this photograph from the 1860s, before sailing across the Atlantic to North America.

worked out his theology and shared it with others. By 1830, he and a small number of followers settled in Zwijndrecht on the Oude Maas River southeast of Rotterdam. Although they called themselves *Apostolische Broedervereeniging*, (Apostolic Brother Society) and *Gemeenschap der Heiligen* (Community of Saints), derisively they were called New Lighters because they had seen a *new light*, and because initially they made and sold match-sticks for a living. The group practiced a form of communal living, adopted a certain dress code, and rejected government authority, such as civil marriages, registration of births, and mandatory military service. In 1830, Phillip Mets, Timothy's father and a well-to-do chocolate manufacturer from Vlissingen, joined the group along with his family and servants. A friend of Phillip Mets, Willem Heystek a shoemaker from Middelburg, also joined the group with his family. When Muller died, Heystek assumed the spiritual leadership and Mets oversaw the financial interests of the group.

One of Mets' thirteen children, Timothy, was born in Vlissingen on December 4, 1828, and at an early age was shipped out to sea. By the age of twenty-three Timothy was living in America. He returned to the Netherlands and his hometown to marry Adrianna Hak in June 1855. The young couple then immigrated to the United States. Their son, Adrian Mets, was born in Brooklyn, New York, in 1856.[18] Sometime between 1856 and 1862, Adrianna passed away. Mets returned again to the Netherlands

[18] Edmund West, comp., *Family Data Collection, Individual Records*, 2000, Ancestry.com.

where on October 22, 1862, he married Lydia Huisman. Lydia resisted accompanying Timothy to the United States for the next eighteen months.

Through a most propitious turn of events, Mets met Vanderwood at the home of his father-in-law, Huisman, in Rotterdam in early April1863. Vanderwood's two-year mission was almost finished, and he spoke about his beliefs and about his soon departure for Zion. Mets, astonished at how much Mormonism had in common with the religious views of the New Lighters, saw an opportunity to return to America and take his family, his in-laws, and many of their friends along with him.[19]

Some of these similarities included the custom of calling each other brother and sister, and using terminology such as Apostles and Saints. New Lighters were opposed to a paid clergy, a practice they perceived as going against the Bible. They, too, were unwelcome in many places because of their constant witnessing and aggressive proselytizing activities. They spoke of being in the last dispensation, and like the Latter-day Saints believed they were chosen to restore the church of Jesus Christ on earth. They read newspapers for the signs of the end-times, and exercised strict discipline within the group.

From that first meeting in April until June when he left for the United States, Vanderwood visited the Huismans, Timothy Mets, and Heystek, the spiritual leader of the group in Rotterdam three more times.[20] Paul A. Schettler, who had worked with Vanderwood in Holland, kept in close contact with the group. On June 10 Schettler baptized Timothy Mets. In October when Elder John Lyman Smith arrived in the Netherlands from Utah nine more people asked to be baptized. Smith, perhaps sensing that these people had not been sufficiently informed about the Mormon religion, delayed their baptisms. A month later, after further discussions about Mormonism Smith, sensing that they understood and believed the teachings of the Mormon faith, baptized a number of them.[21] It would take another year before the entire group of Mormon converts and former New Lighters were in agreement and sufficiently prepared to emigrate to Utah.

The New Lighters, as well as several other families who did not belong to the New Lighters but who had converted to Mormonism, about sixty-five in all, left for Utah in June 1864. They sailed from Liverpool on the *S.S. Hudson*. Three children were born onboard, among them Henry Hudson Cannegieter to Susanna Cannegieter who named him after the

[19] Phillip Mets, Tim's father, had passed away on July 31, 1860, at Dordrecht; his widow, Ovaa Mets, immigrated with Tim to America.

[20] Vanderwood, *North by Northwest*, 68-72.

[21] Those baptized were: Johannes J. Huisman (57), Willem Heystek (63), Bastiaan Keizer (64), Cornelius D. Exalto (63), Huibert van Dam (62), Jan C. van Dam (34), Pieter Olivier (37), Aart Kuik (38), Jacob W. Cannegieter (28), Samuel Mets (26), Willem Heystek (18), Dirk Boekholt (20), Geertje M. van Eck Exalto (62), Maartje van Dam (34), Neeltje Leuven Olivier (37), Geertje de Jong Kuik (31), Susanna Cannegieter (25), Anna Tol (52), Johanna C. Huisman (28), Anna Mets (19), and Anna C. Boekholt (17). Bastiaan Keizer and Huibert van Dam would pass away before the group's immigration. Like the other Mormon converts, these were all baptized after sunset, as Dutch law did not allow public preaching, or any other public display of religious activity. The converts gathered on Heystek's boat, which he anchored in reedy shallows of a river. Mets then handed the converts over the side of the boat to Smith, who immersed them in the water.

name of the ship. Unfortunately, there was also a death on board involving the Dutch; Elizabeth Keizer, who had lost her husband shortly before the journey began, lost her three-year-old son onboard.

By the end of June this largely New Lighter group was on the overland leg of their journey to Utah. In spite of the Mormons' solid planning, peril was ever present. Jan Cornelis Van Dam from Heukelum had accompanied his in-laws, Cornelius D. and Geertje Exaltos, not wanting the old couple to travel into the American wilderness alone. A week after entering Nebraska, Van Dam contracted typhoid fever and died. Twenty-one days later, his wife Maartje gave birth to a baby girl she named Cornelia. However, the loss of Jan, the birth of the baby girl, and travel conditions over rough terrain sapped her health, and on September 25, 1864, she died at the age of thirty-four. Her daughter, Adriaantje (Lottie) Van Dam Woolley Sharp, later recalled, "I was only six years old at the time, but I can remember seeing Mother sitting in the corner of the tent crying, and putting my arms around her neck telling her not to cry."[22] The elderly Exaltos couple looked after their orphaned grandchildren for the remainder of the journey, but once in Utah three of the five Van Dam orphans, Herbert, Lottie, and Nellie, were taken in by a childless Mormon couple, the blacksmith Moses Thurston and his wife Lucy.[23] The William Cain family took in Geertje (Kate), and the baby Cornelia was adopted by the Woods family.[24]

The Jasper family, Eelke and Elizabeth and their two children Cornelis and Wemeltje, also met with tragedy on the same wagon train. Only Eelke and Elizabeth made it as far as Nebraska City, Nebraska; their children are not listed in the federal census and are presumed lost en route. The entire Hak family—Tim Mets' first wife's family—mother and seven children, traveling with this group also disappeared somewhere en route.

Even before their arrival in Utah, there seems to have been a split in the ranks of the New Lighters, those who were faithful Mormons and those who would stay true to the New Lighters' principles. Gerardus P. Marang, a Dutch theologian who studied the New Lighters, wrote to several of them while researching his book, *De Zijndrechtse Nieuwlichters*. Willem Heystek, Jr., son of the group's leader, Willem Heystek, Sr., responded to Marang in 1904, "But already on the journey we experienced much and were prepared to be disappointed when we arrived here. Much has already taken place here and all of this was done under the guise of religion."[25] One of the points of contention may have been Tim Mets' unquestioned accep-

[22] Kate B. Carter, ed., *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1958-1977), 8:23.

[23] Marang, *Nieuwlichters*, 241. In the 1870 federal census for Utah the children were living with Moses and Lucy Thurston.

[24] Salt Lake City Cemetery Death Records from 1847–1888. US Film 1,597,957 Family History Library; 1870 U.S. Census, Utah, Salt Lake City.

[25] Letter from Pieter and Hendrika Fonteijn to G. P. Maran, 1904, quoted in Marang, *Nieuwlichters*, 242. "Maar op de rijs hadde wij al genoeg ondervonden en waren wel wat voorberijd om de teleurstelling toen wij hier kwamen te dragen. Er is hier heel wat gebeurd en dat alles onder de mantel van Godsdienst."

tance of LDS doctrine. Heystek, Jr. wrote disapprovingly about Mets to Marang. He described Mets as "one of the leading supporters of the Mormons who immediately [upon arriving in Utah] married two women."[26] There may also have been a clash of leadership between Mets, fluent in English, and Heystek, Sr., who though the acknowledged spiritual leader of the Dutch New Lighters, lacked the language skills of his new country. Perhaps sensing disapproval of the New Lighters faction, the Mets family moved to Morgan City, along with the Huisman, Exalto, and Dykman families. This may also explain why the orphaned Van Dam children were not adopted by other Dutch families. The children's grandparents and natural guardians, the Exaltos, too old to take on the burden of raising the children themselves and siding with Mets, allowed them to be separated and adopted by non-Dutch Mormon families. Pieter and Hendrika Fonteijn's letter to Marang revealed that many of the New Lighters did not join the LDS church once in Salt Lake City: "We have not joined a church denomination here, we have no need of earthly teachers, and we cannot find in a church here on earth what we are currently experiencing [among ourselves]. In the Mormon Church there are thousands good and brave people, but as for the leaders of the church… there is much to disapprove of."[27]

Willem Heystek, Sr. remained their spiritual leader, refining their theology. In Utah, Heystek wrote two booklets, which he self published and had printed in the Netherlands. In these booklets Heystek further developed the theological principles of the New Lighters.[28]

Heystek in his *The Last Judgment: A voice from the new world formed already in the old world in the year 1830 and after 1864 developed further in the new world*, developed a theology that one needed to return to this world time and again to learn spiritual lessons until one fully understood God's will on how to live.[29] He wrote that these spiritual lessons take many forms and appear in numerous manifestations to those who are prepared to receive them. "Already we have celebrated the feast of acceptance of all that is crippled, deformed, blind or lame in Salt Lake, Utah on December 30, 1873; this first feast of God's Kingdom already come was not recognized by most in attendance but was profoundly experienced by those who were aware of, and awake to, eternal life."[30] For many Christian believers at the time

[26] Ibid., 240.

[27] Letter from Pieter Fonteijin quoted in Marang, *Nieuwlichters,* 237, "Wij zijn volstrekt niet aan een kerkgenootschap aangesloten, wij hebben volstrekt geen behoefte aan aardsche leeraars, op aarde,... in de Mormoone kerk daar zijn duizenden goede brave menschen onder . . . maar de hoofden van die kerk, daar valt veel op af te wijzen."

[28] G. P. Marang, "Nieuw Licht over de Zijndrechtsche Nieuwlichters," *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis,* ed. J. Lindeboom, et al. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1936), 28:140-53.

[29] Nederlands Archief voor Kergkgeschiedenis, 28: 146-147. *Het Laaste Oordeel: Eene stem uit de nieuwe wereld in de oude wereld gevormd sedert het jaar 1830 en na 1864 ontwikkeld in de nieuwe wereld.*

[30] In Dutch it reads: *Reeds hebben wij het feest der aanneming van alles wat kreupel, verminkt, blind of lam was, het eerste feest van Gods koninkrijk gevierd in Salt Lake in Utah, den 30 December 1873, in groote onbekendheid voor de meeste feestgenooten doch volkomen bekend en bewust bij allen die ontwaakt waren ten leven.*

LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES

Dutch Immigrants onboard ship.

being physically handicapped was seen as a judgment of God. However the small group of the New Lighters in Utah came to understand through a group vision while at a large gathering held in Salt Lake City that those with handicaps should not be seen as an aberration, but they should belong to God's kingdom as fully as anyone else. This would certainly tie in with Heystek's theology of reincarnation—that being physically handicapped should lead to learning spiritual lessons.[31]

Vanderwood, following his mission to the Netherlands in 1863, moved to Malad, Idaho, just north of the Utah-Idaho border. Although he was the first LDS church missionary to the Netherlands, and the first to bring Dutch Saints to Utah, he no longer was involved in church missionary work among the Dutch people in the Netherlands or in Utah. [32]

Vanderwood's separation from his Dutch compatriots may have been a result of the difficulties that existed between him and his former fellow missionary companion, Paul A. Schettler, while they served together in the

[31] Marang, *Nederlands Archief*, 28: 141-43. This view of reincarnation was bolstered by A. Bos who as one of the group leaders in the Netherlands single and in his thirties at the time, claimed to have lived in Palestine as Jesus of Nazareth, and that some of his friends had been his disciples there in Palestine. Heystek also taught that 1915 would be the year when Jesus would return.

[32] The 1880 US Census for Idaho lists Vanderwood as being born in France and his parents being from Greece. The error may be explained this way: Vanderwood was born in Franeker, Friesland, the Netherlands. The Frisian word for Franeker is Frentjer, pronounced Frencher. When asked by the census taker where he was born, Vanderwood probably answered in his native Frisian language "Frentjer" and the census taker understood him as being "French" and wrote France. When he was asked his parents' ethnicity he probably answered "Fries" and the census taker wrote down "Greece."

Netherlands. The situation became so intolerable that Schettler was sent to Switzerland for the duration of Vanderwood's mission.[33] Missionary John L. Smith, who followed Vanderwood in the Netherlands, wrote to mission president G. Q. Cannon about his feelings "in the Vanderwood case" intimating some kind of difficulty with Vanderwood.[34] President Cannon replied that he had not heard of the Vanderwood case, but would report the matter to both the emigration agent and also to President Brigham Young.[35] Was Vanderwood, who stayed true to the Mormon faith, but did not engage in polygamy, and never went on another mission, ordered to Malad by church authorities?

Being few in number and not all clustered together accelerated the Hollanders' integration into the general population and the loss of their Dutch ethnicity. This integration was enhanced through interethnic marriages, some of which were likely polygamous marriages. The 1880 census listed twenty-four Dutch-born women who had married non-Dutch men, and eight Dutch men who had married non-Dutch women. With no religious restrictions to such marriages, there was little reason for Dutch men and women not to marry non-Dutch. In the Dutch colonies in Iowa and Michigan, Dutch men and women were strongly encouraged to marry only Dutch. As a result, integration in these Dutch communities took longer.

One of the large stumbling blocks of converting the Dutch to Mormonism in the Netherlands was the doctrine of *veelwijverij,* polygamy. However, once converted and living in Utah, many of the Dutch Mormons accepted the doctrine and practiced it. At least six of the leaders—Peter Lammers, Sybren Van Dyk, Timothy Mets, Bein Heertjes, Zwier Koldewijn, and Dirk Bockholt—had two or more wives.[36]

Reverend Andrew Wormser, a minister in the Reformed Church of America at Cedar Grove, Wisconsin, while on a visit to Salt Lake City in 1884 soon learned of his fellow countrymen's involvement with polygamy. Dirk Bockholt, a well-to-do Dutch emigrant, boasted to Rev. Wormser that he had not just one but four wives.[37] Bockholt may have trusted his fellow Hollander not to disclose his polygamous marriages, but he did not make it known around town, fearing the federal marshals who were on the lookout for polygamists.

This crackdown by federal marshals forced Van Dyk to resettle in the inhospitable Rabbit Valley on the Fremont River in Wayne County in 1887, a considerable distance south of Ogden where some of the Dutch

[33] Manuscript History "Netherlands Mission," September 24, 1862, LDS Church Archives.

[34] Ibid., November 10, 1863.

[35] Ibid., November 13, 1863.

[36] The 1880 census shows Peter Lammers, Siebren Van Dyk, Dirk Bockholt and George Rijnders having two households with the second wife living in a separate house listing her husband's name as being the head of the household on the census records.

[37] A. Wormser, *Verspreide Geschriften*: *Hier een Weinig: Daar een Weinig* (Milwaukee: J. H. Yewdale en Zonen, 1885), 185.

Mormons had settled. In Ogden he had built a comfortable duplex for his two families: his first wife Froukje Van Dam and children, and his second wife, Anna Nollcamper and children. Near Loa in Wayne County, Van Dyk at the age of sixty built a simple shelter for his second wife Anna Nollcamper, deeding the land and house to her. Anna and their four children joined Van Dyke in Loa, but Froukje, too frail to make the move, remained in Ogden.

Language also speeded the Dutch integration into Utah society. Beginning in 1870, Lammers and Van Dyk, both returned missionaries from the Netherlands, held weekly church meetings in the Dutch language in Lammers' home. The average attendance was ten persons, about all the Dutch-speaking people living in Weber County at the time.[38] Although church leaders in Salt Lake City allowed such meetings, the Dutch, as all other nationalities, had to attend English-language ward services where they received the sacrament and participated in the activities of church auxiliaries and priesthood quorums. English was after all, "the language of the Book of Mormon" and the latter-day prophets, and "the language in which it had pleased the Almighty to manifest His will in this last dispensation."[39] Unlike the Dutch in the Iowa and Michigan colonies who were encouraged to keep the Dutch language, the Dutch in Utah were encouraged to learn English, producing a more rapid "break with the convert's past, separating him from his mother church, his fatherland, and his native tongue."[40] Nevertheless, when the occasion required it, such as at the funeral of a Dutch immigrant, the service was conducted in the native language to help comfort the bereaved. On Friday, May 24, 1889, Nicolas Baker, aged forty-five, died in a work-related accident. He and his family had come from Holland only the year before, and his widow and children found much comfort in having Dutch speaking elders of the church conduct and speak at the funeral services.[41]

Not all New Lighters joined the LDS church, and not all of the Dutch converts who settled in Zion stayed true to their new faith. Rev. Wormser, writing about his visit in Salt Lake City in 1884, stated: "There are still about sixty Dutch Mormons in Salt Lake City; but most who came left again, their sound Dutch common sense soon seeing through the 'sham' of Mormon theology."[42] Wormser also wrote that he had visited relatives who for a while had been thoroughly taken in with the fervor of the LDS Saints in the Netherlands, but upon arriving in Salt Lake City had found the

[38] Johanna C. Meyers Lammers, "A Journey to Utah in 1867," *Utah Nederlander*, July 23, 1914.

[39] William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 128, and n. 103; Peter Thomassen, "Hilsen til vore Laesere," *Utah Posen* (Salt Lake City), December 24, 1873.

[40] Ibid.

[41] *Ogden Standard Examiner*, June 1, 1889.

[42] He was close in his estimation. The census showed fifty, including the children, Dutch born in Salt Lake City; there may have been a few more who arrived between 1880 and 1884.

leadership so distasteful that they withdrew from the church.[43]

Confirming Rev. Wormser's observations, Johanna Carolina Lammers, wife of Peter Lammers, wrote in her memoir in 1907, "Of the [eight] Hollanders who journeyed with me, six have apostatized and my mother and I were the only ones who remained faithful."[44] The Van Loenen family, who had arrived with Lammers in 1867, left the church and by 1870 had moved to the predominantly non-Mormon town of Corinne, Box Elder County, where Christiaan became a saloonkeeper.

Other Dutch Mormon converts who became disenchanted with the church looked to live elsewhere as well. The opportunity came for some when Henry Hospers, a Dutch-born entrepreneur from Pella, Iowa, advertised the availability of land in northwest Iowa. His message reached some of the disillusioned Dutch in Utah. *De Volksvriend*, a Dutch-language weekly published in Iowa, reported that, "Hospers had received letters from a number of Hollanders who, tired of living among the Mormons, wanted to move."[45]

Disappointment with Mormon theology may have turned some away, but there may have been another reason that some of the Dutch converts regretted their decision to settle in Utah. The national economic crisis, which began in 1873 and the depression that followed, were also experienced in Utah. In 1874, LDS church leaders initiated a new law called the "United Order," in which the church demanded the saints place all of their goods, their time and talents, and property at the absolute disposal of local church authorities. The United Order experiment was brief—from 1874 to 1878.[46] However, the Dutch, eager to own farms and businesses, may not have appreciated the heavy hand of the church in their property decisions. The letters Mr. Hospers received in 1876 from Hollanders in Utah fell exactly within the time frame of the United Order movement in Utah.

The matter of strict payment of tithing caused hardship for some of the Dutch as well. A native of Heukelum wrote to friends in the Netherlands that the land in Utah was very expensive so that one half of what was raised was demanded in payment; that one tenth needed to be taken out for tithing, one tenth was paid out for threshing the grain, and one tenth for milling. Few in Heukelum hearing of these teachings were much interested in joining the LDS church.[47]

[43] Wormser, *Verspreide Geschriften*, 179. Because Wormser cites his relative's last name as "F" this may have been the Fonteijn family, the only Dutch at the time whose name began with the letter F. They were likely the people who wrote the letter to Marang about how disillusioned they were once they realized the full extent of Mormon theology.

[44] Lammers, *A Journey to Utah*. Those who immigrated with Johanna Lammers were her mother, Caroline Meyers, Johanna Vander Elst, Joseph Duberz and wife, and Christiaan van Loenen and his wife and two children.

[45] *De Volksvriend*, March 30, 1876, ". . . ontving de heer Henry Hospers ook een schrijven uit Utah, alwaar zich een tal van Hollandsche huisgezinnen bevinden die het leven onder de Morrmonen moede, willen verhuizen."

[46] Mulder, *Homeward*, 235-37.

[47] Joseph Weiler Journal, July 31, 1865, MS d 1492, LDS Church Archives. This was in all likelihood N. de Heus who was the only surviving farmer from Heukelum, as Jan Van Dam had perished on the journey across the Plains.

Other Utah Dutch Mormons likely had problems with the church's prohibition against the use of tobacco, coffee, tea and liquor. Asa Judd, missionary to the Netherlands (1887-1889) wrote, "Dutch Saints and missionaries drink barley coffee as it is a great trial for them to quit drinking it entirely."[48]

Of the twenty-eight Dutch families listed in the 1870 Utah census, only fourteen were still living in Utah ten years later, according to the 1880 census. As noted earlier, three families—the Mets, Exaltos, and Huismans—had moved to Mesa City, Arizona. Eleven families moved elsewhere.[49] None of the single men listed in the 1870 census, showed up as either married or living in Utah ten years later. The single women listed as domestics in the 1870 census were difficult to trace since their maiden names were not recorded in the 1880 census.

How well then did these first Dutch immigrants adapt to their new surroundings? Did their economic and occupational status change from when they lived in the Netherlands? After he returned from his mission in 1863, Anne Vanderwood moved to Malad, Idaho, where he built the first store that simultaneously served as telegraph office, stagecoach stop, and courthouse for southeastern Idaho. Timothy Mets entered into the mercantile business, first in Morgan, and later in Mesa City, Arizona. Dirk Bockholt became clerk of Salt Lake County. These three had the advantage of being able to speak English when they immigrated to Utah. In comparing the occupations of the others using Dutch passenger ship records with their occupations listed in the 1880 census, first generation Dutch in Utah almost all worked at similar blue collar occupations as they did in the Netherlands, and like most first generation emigrants, they belonged to the working class.[50] Second and third generations, as they became educated, rose in status.

In Utah, the status of Dutch women depended on their husbands' positions, or, if single on the men they would marry. For example Annie Bosch, who arrived in Utah with the 1864 New Lighter group and single, entered into a marriage that gave her a solid standing in the church and community. On October 14, 1865, at the age of eighteen, Annie married thirty-eight-year-old Charles Turner, bishop of South Morgan Ward and later patriarch of the Morgan Stake. Turner was a widower at the time of his marriage to Annie; however, after seven years of living in a monogamous relationship, he married a second wife. Annie bore him thirteen children, and as wife number one of this prominent churchman she probably enjoyed considerable social status.

[48] Walter Judd Diary, MSS 400, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, quoted in Davis Bitton, *Guide to Mormon Diaries & Autobiographies* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1977), 188.

[49] Due to the missing 1890 census, it is impossible to trace these eleven families. In the intervening two decades (1880s and1890s), deaths, marriages, name changes, etc. changed the dynamics of families so that assumptions about which family is which cannot be made with certainty.

[50] Robert Swierenga, *Dutch Immigrants in U.S. Ship Passenger Manifests, 1820-1880: an Alphabetical Listing by Household Heads and Independent Persons* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1983).

Agatha (Aagje) Peters did not fare as well. In July1878, the then twenty-year-old Peters traveled to Utah with forty-five-year-old Bernard Hermann Schettler where she entered into a polygamous marriage with him.[51] Schettler was a half-brother to Salt Lake City banker Paul A. Schettler.[52] Unaware of what trials this marriage would bring, Agatha married Bernard on August 8, 1878.[53] Schettler, described by a Salt Lake City newspaper as being bald and deformed, already had three wives.[54]

As cashier of the Zion's Savings Bank & Trust Company in Salt Lake City, Schettler could afford another wife, and as his polygamous wife, Agatha would have had a respectable position within the Mormon community. However, Agatha was caught in the same dragnet that had rounded up hundreds of other Mormon men and women who were fined and sometimes imprisoned for unlawful cohabitation under the 1882 Edmunds Act.

Eight years after her marriage to Schettler, the *Salt Lake Tribune* on September 16, 1885, carried the headline, "Treasurer Schettler Exposed." The newspaper reported that Schettler had appeared before United States Commissioner McKay on charges of unlawful cohabitation and of having at least three wives. The first Mrs. Schettler testified she knew nothing of the other wives; the mother-in-law of wife number three reported that Mr. Schettler had never asked her for her daughter's hand in marriage and therefore she knew of no such marriage. Two more witnesses, Agatha's father and brother, also claimed to be ignorant of any relationship between Agatha and Schettler, although her brother stated that he had visited Agatha on occasion and that there had been little children around who called her mama.[55]

Agatha Peters promptly went into hiding and for the next two years lived in Davis County near Woods Cross. On February 3, 1888, the *Southern Utonian* reported, "Agatha Peters, the alleged polygamous wife of B. H. Schettler, who is charged with unlawful cohabitation, was arrested by deputies Pratt and Cannon [on] Friday. She was taken before Commissioner Norrell, and released upon giving bonds in the sum of $500 for her appearance as a witness."[56] For a young Dutch woman having

[51] Agatha Peters was the daughter of Frederik and Agatha Peters; Bernard Hermann Schettler was born in 1833 in Neuwied, Rhine, Germany. For a more detailed biography on Bernard H. Schettler see Jacob Olmstead, "Injudicious Mormon Banker: The life of B.H. Schettler and the Collapse of His Private Bank," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 73 (Winter 2005):21-43. For a more detailed biography on Paul A. Schettler see Jacob W. Olmstead and Fred E. Woods, "Give Me Any Situation Suitable": The Consecrated Life of the Multitalented Paul A. Schettler," *Brigham Young Studies* 41 (2002):109-126.

[52] Jenson, *Netherlands Amsterdam Mission,* July 29, 1879.

[53] Aagje's parents, Frederik and Aagje Duivenbode Peters, and her siblings immigrated to Utah in October 1881.

[54] Schettler's other wives were Mary Morgan whom he married on August 7, 1871,; Susan Maria McCaw on May 17, 1872; Elizabeth Parry on October 13, 1876; and Agatha Peters on August 8, 1878, all in Salt Lake City.

[55] *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 6, 1886.

[56] *Southern Utonian*, (Beaver, Utah) February 3, 1888.

grown up in the pleasant city of Zutphen in the Netherlands, with its many conveniences and plenty of people around her, and then living in Salt Lake City, another bustling place, hiding in the wilderness with four little children proved to be too distressing. Agatha was later reported as saying she knew Mr. Schettler was "too religious a man to go back on polygamy, and that while hiding she had felt worse 'than if I were in prison.' And now that she had been found she would tell the truth, and 'I don't know if I will have any friends left among the Mormons after I have told the truth, but I don't intend to lie.'" The *Tribune* also reported that Schettler was badly taken aback when he saw her and was told that she had confessed to the officers of the law.[57]

LDS CHURCH ARCHIVES

John Volker, a Dutch convert to the LDS church, returned to the Netherlands as mission president in the 1880s.

Schettler's problems, and Agatha's by association, were by no means over. Early in 1904, twelve years after Schettler had founded his own private bank it folded thereby jeopardizing his private assets. Agatha found herself in court again, this time over the deed to the house that Schettler had deeded to her in 1883. Fortunately, the court ruled that the house deeded to her was not part of Schettler's assets and she was allowed to keep her home.[58]

Agatha was able to provide for her teenage children by working as a nurse in Salt Lake City. Her next-door neighbor in the Fourth Precinct of Salt Lake City was Elizabeth Parry, also a wife of Schettler. Schettler died on October 25, 1907, in Salt Lake City. Agatha Peters, who never remarried, outlived her husband by another twenty-three years. She passed away on March 18, 1940.

[57] *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 31, 1888. Schettler pleaded guilty and was sentenced to six months in the territorial penitentiary and fined three hundred dollars. Due to his first wife's intercession on his behalf, he served only one month.

[58] For an account of B.H. Schettler and his banking difficulties see Olmstead, "Injudicious Mormon Banker."

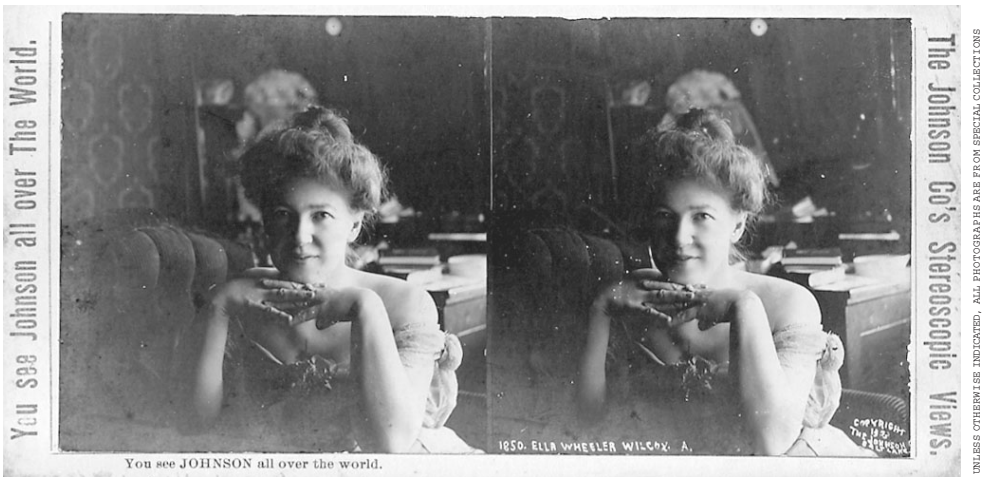
For the last four decades of the nineteenth century, LDS church Dutch converts immigrated to Utah in a trickle. Few missionaries were called to serve in the Netherlands. From 1861 to 1879 twenty-four missionaries were sent to the Netherlands. Some like Peter Lammers, Timothy Mets, and John Volker served several missions to their homeland. These twenty-four Dutch missionaries during those years baptized 196 converts in the Netherlands. During the same time span 202 or an average of eleven per year immigrated to Utah, heeding the call to gather in Zion.[59]

The Dutch like other converts to the church were encouraged to immigrate to Utah. In 1885, John Volker, mission president in the Netherlands urged the saints to lay away ten cents every week for an emigration fund. A decade later the LDS church began to deemphasize the gathering to Zion and encouraged foreign members to stay in their homelands to build up the church there. This change of the church's urgings was in part a result of the American economy taking a downturn beginning in 1893, which affected economic conditions in Utah as well.

For the Dutch this prohibition by the church was modified three years later, after their grumblings were heard in Salt Lake City. In 1896 the church's publication *De Ster* announced: "The First Presidency by way of the President of the European Mission has given the President of the Netherlands Mission the privilege of calling good and efficient young native Elders into the missionary field with the understanding that if they filled good and honorable missions, the Church would at the expiration of such a mission arrange for their transportation to Zion."[60] Thus, until the end of the century, moving to Zion changed from a mandate to a prize and an honor for the Dutch. With the new century, however, an increase in converts in the Netherlands led to a corresponding increase in emigration that brought many more Dutch from the land of the dikes to the desert valley.

[59] Of the estimated 70,000 immigrants to Utah between 1847 and 1877, the Dutch with 202 immigrants made up only .003 percent of the total immigrants during the thirty year period.

[60] *De Ster*, Feb. 21, 1896.



"Appreciating a Pretty Shoulder": The Risqué Photographs of Charles Ellis Johnson

By DANIEL DAVIS

Housed in the collections of the Special Collections and Archives at Utah State University is an intriguing set of risqué photographs dating roughly from 1890 to 1910. Some of the images are stereo-views or cabinet card portraits of burlesque actresses either in tights or displaying bare necks, shoulders, and upper bosoms. Other photographs in the collection are even more suggestive with women undressing, lounging about with dresses that reveal their thighs, wearing body suits, and removing one-another's clothing. By today's standards they are more comical than pornographic. Considering the conventions of the time, however, especially in conservative, turn-of-the-century Utah they are quite shocking.

In a time before movies and television, acting companies toured the country to perform before packed theater houses and it was common for local photographers to capitalize on this popularity. The entertainment ranged from high-brow productions of Shakespeare to "low brow" burlesque with attractive women in tights as the main attraction. Men bought suggestive images of the actresses as part of the show. The risqué images at Utah State University are fairly conventional for their time and are intriguing not for their content, but because the

Stereo-view of poet and actress Ella Wheeler Wilcox, 1903.

Daniel Davis is the photograph curator of the Special Collections & Archives Division, Merrill-Cazier Library, Utah State University.

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH, SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

Johnson's photography shop located on the corner of Main and South Temple streets. c. 1910.

photographer was Charles Ellis Johnson. During his years as a professional photographer in Salt Lake City from about 1890 to 1916 Charles made images of attractive women a specialty, but he was not the first to introduce risqué images to Utah. Risqué photography is almost as old as the medium itself, and there were, no doubt, more explicit images sold in Salt Lake City's saloons and taverns around or even before 1900.[1] Although he was the only major Mormon photographer selling risqué photographs, they are also not unique or ground breaking. His images reflect the general trends towards greater nudity and a more voyeuristic depiction of women from the 1890s to the 1900s to a surprising degree.

What is intriguing is that Johnson arguably became the unofficial "Church Photographer" in the 1890s. He photographed the Salt Lake City Temple dedication, went to the Chicago World's Fair in 1893 with the Mormon Tabernacle Choir (and to San Francisco in 1896), shot group portraits of the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve, and sold reprints of older Brigham Young photographs. His advertisements as well heavily pushed the Mormon angle.[2] Far from being a part of Salt Lake

[1] See the *Salt Lake Herald*, March 8, 1901, "The crusade against vice took yet another [shot] yesterday, when the police were ordered to close up all slot machines and all other devices in which lewd and obscene pictures were displayed . . . it is well known that boys have been for long time past visiting the saloons for the sole purpose of viewing the obscene pictures in the slot machines. . . . "

[2] For example, a Johnson advertisement from 1902 (Salt Lake Theatre Programs, MSS B-44, Utah State Historical Society) prominently features his Mormon photographs of Temple Square and of LDS church leaders. An image (University of Utah, Marriott Library, Special Collections, P0110 Number 1-04-06) of Johnson's Kodak and curio store window has nothing even vaguely burlesque. The display instead features photographs of Salt Lake City, Native Americans, and LDS church leaders.

City's "underbelly," Charles Johnson was a successful local businessman from a pioneer LDS family who married a daughter of Brigham Young.

Johnson did, however, have a connection with burlesque and vaudeville theater and had photographed hundreds of actors and actresses from the local Salt Lake theater as well as national touring groups. One of those women, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, wrote to him in 1903 from the Brown Palace Hotel in Denver, Colorado. Johnson's recent photographs of Wilcox revealed her bare neck, shoulders, and upper bosom, which was fairly typical for many of his portraits.[3] In response to objections raised by one man over the impropriety of her photographs, Wilcox wrote: "Tell the gentleman... that I am sorry he should object to a little bit of neck. He probably had a surfeit of necks in his plural wives, and it gave him a sort of physical indigestion. You see what a terrible thing polygamy is sometimes, when it unfits a man for appreciating a pretty shoulder."[4]

This example highlights the inherent tension between those who objected to Johnson's images (as well as his Mormon heritage with its aversion to indecency), and to his continued appreciation of "pretty shoulders" as demonstrated through his photography. One wonders just why Johnson decided to take this path. It is doubtful that financial rewards justified his behavior given the relative scarcity of his risqué images today and given his other successful businesses. A more credible explanation lies in an analysis of the man himself. For instance, at first glance Johnson looks much like a typical, active member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. A closer examination, however, reveals a much more complicated person who, while not formally apostatizing, completely dissociated himself from the LDS church. His story illustrates not only how Utah's visual culture of the female form changed around 1900, but also how one man maintained a delicate balance between his interest in the emerging sexuality of the world of theater and photography with his public persona as a Mormon businessman.

When Johnson began his photography business about 1890 it was undoubtedly not to create risqué images. He and his wife, Ruth Young, moved to Salt Lake City in 1882 from St. George where they had met during Brigham Young's winter sojourns. Because of his background working with his father, Joseph Ellis Johnson, manufacturing homemade medicinal remedies, Charles started to work as a druggist with ZCMI. Although he described this as a "good job," a more lucrative arrangement with Parley P. Pratt (the son of murdered apostle Parley Parker Pratt) operating a drug store presented itself. At that point in his life Johnson needed the money. His father died of pneumonia in Arizona, and his younger brothers and sisters as well as his mother were forced to relocate to Salt Lake City.

[3] Charles Ellis Johnson Photograph Collection P0011, photographs 9:108 and 109, Utah State University, Merrill Library, Special Collections & Archives (hereafter Johnson Photographs).

[4] Johnson Collection, MSS 110, box 5, folder 18, University of Utah, Marriott Library, Special Collections. (Hereafter Johnson Papers.)

LEFT: Cabinet card portrait of Franc Madigan with clothing from the burlesque play, The Black Crook, c. 1893.

RIGHT: Cabinet card portrait of woman in risqué "Oriental" clothing, c. 1893.

Johnson was just twenty-five years old when he shouldered the responsibility of becoming a surrogate father to his younger brothers and sisters.[5]

Sometime in 1889 or 1890 Pratt and Johnson purchased the Hyrum Sainsbury photo studio. Initially Johnson was the business manager of the studio, but he quickly became more interested in the actual photography. The national depression of 1893 would take its toll on Johnson's three businesses (the drug store, the photo studio, and the VTR or Valley Tan Remedies which manufactured medicinal products), and it was only through incorporation that he was able to save them. Perhaps due to the depression, Sainsbury retired, leaving Johnson in control of the studio.[6]

The bread and butter for any local photographer during that time would have been studio portraiture and views of local interest such as buildings, monuments, celebrations, and civic groups. Charles Johnson was no different in this regard, but he also specialized in LDS material and Salt Lake City's theater scene. He maintained an earlier interest from when he was an

[5] Kate B. Carter, ed., *Early Pioneer Photographers* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1975), 270; and David Rufus Johnson, *J. E. J., Trail to Sundown: Cassadaga to Casa Grande, 1817-1882, The Story of aPioneer* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1961), 471.

[6] Johnson, *J .E .J.*, 500.

actor and managed the small theater in St. George. He took numerous photographs of actors and (especially) actresses who were either native to or traveling through Utah as well as theater productions ranging from school plays to burlesque productions. He was, as well, the official Utah correspondent of the *New York Dramatic Mirror*.[7] Just when Johnson started photographing actresses is unknown, but it was probably shortly after 1890. Because he did not leave a diary or voluminous correspondence and most of his images are not dated, a time-line is difficult to establish. Johnson advertised in the *Deseret Evening News* that he would, "give a special premium of V.T.R. gold medal to the prettiest girl between the ages of 15 and 30 years present on the Fair grounds...."[8] This brief notice shows

Risqué stereo-view of unidentified woman, c. 1900.

LEFT: Stereo-view of two women, one in Spanish-American War uniform, c. 1898. CENTER: "Naughty Maid," risqué stereo-view, c. 1903. RIGHT: Stereo-view of man supposedly stealing money from a rich woman, c. 1895.

[7] Johnson Papers, box 4, folder 12; "Autobiography of Charles Ellis Johnson," four page typed transcript, File MSS 571, Special Collections & Archives, Utah State University and Nelson B. Wadsworth, *Set in Stone, Fixed in Glass: The Great Mormon Temple and Its Photographers* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 285-89.

[8] *Deseret Evening News*, July 18, 1894.

Stereo-views of women in "Middle-Eastern" clothing. c. 1903.

that at least by 1894 he was looking for attractive women presumably to photograph. In one case he photographed Franc Madigan in 1893 with the clothing she wore for the burlesque show, "The Black Crook." In all likelihood he began his foray into risqué photography through his connection with burlesque theater.[9]

Burlesque featured women doing and saying shocking things. They smoked, they drank, they wore men's clothing, and they said and did things that earned them the wrath of polite society. The clothing they wore was considered scandalous for the time, and *carte-de-visité* and cabinet card images of burlesque actresses in this clothing were extremely popular.[10] It is important to note, however, that burlesque photographs might show an actress in her scandalous clothes, but not nude. Nudity in American stereo-views is rare before 1900. For example one photo from the early 1890s of a woman in a form fitting "mummy-suit" is bold in displaying her hourglass figure, but only includes her bare shoulders and neck. Johnson's risqué stereo-views are similar to other depictions of "young ladies in scanty clothes, showing stockinged legs, bare backs and the tops of their breasts."[11]

Sometime in the mid to late 1890s Johnson started to publish stereographic "series" under his label. These series consist of several images that, when viewed chronologically, told a story. One series makes reference to

[9] See Robert C. Allen, *Horrible Prettiness: Burlesque and American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 237; Johnson Photographs, 4:029.

[10] Allen, *Horrible Prettiness*, 223.

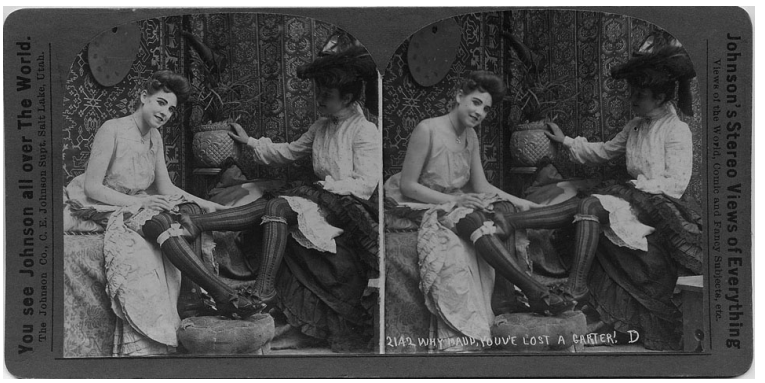
[11] Johnson Photographs, 4:005; and John Waldsmith, *Stereo Views: An Illustrated History and Price Guide* (Radnor, PA: Wallace-Homestead Book Company, 1991), 140-41.

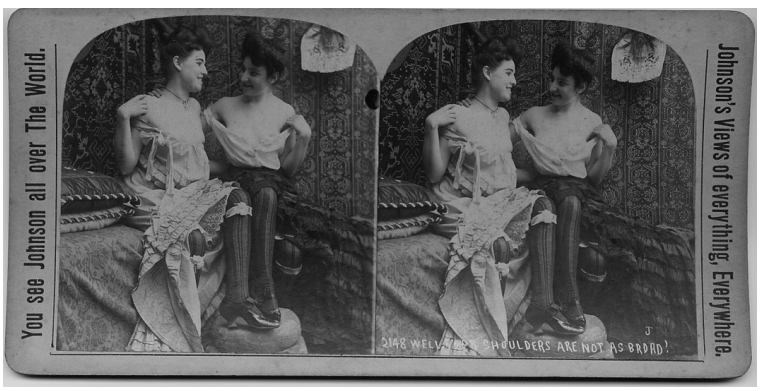
TOP: Stereo-view of art model, 1904. RIGHT: Stereo-view of woman in semi-transparent clothing, c. 1903. LOWER RIGHT: Verso side of typical Johnson stereo-view, c. 1903.

the Spanish-American War, so these images date to around 1898 or 1899. This series does not show nudity. In it a woman is waiting for her husband to return from the war. Her "husband" turns out to be a woman dressed as a man. He is summoned back to the war, leaving her devastated (although not before they can embrace and kiss). Johnson was following conventions by creating a story or series of scenes that often had sexual overtones. In another series he shows a young maid displaying her stockings and thighs as she lounges about her employer's home reading *Vanity Fair* instead of working. "Missus is out — who cares" is written on the image. In another set a man points a gun at an elaborately dressed woman. The woman's money is hidden next to her garter, of course, but the woman manages to grab the gun while the man is removing the money, and she is now in charge. Judging by the dress these images were probably taken in the late 1890s.[12]

Johnson's risqué photography also used elements of orientalism. He attended the 1893 World's Fair, where suggestive displays of the harem and the strip-tease/belly dance were introduced to burlesque theater. Some of

[12] Allen, *Horrible Prettiness*, 260-61; Johnson Photographs, 10:21-32, 9:131-136, and 9:064-074.





Risqué stereo-views of two unidentified women undressing, c. 1903.

Johnson's photographs show women lounging in an oriental setting wearing oriental clothing. In one stereo-view a young lady asks, "Will you smoke the Nargileh?" In others she herself is smoking the Nargileh, dancing, or looking flirtatiously into the camera (the caption reads: "The Sultan's Favorite").[13] The idea that these photographs might have appealed to viewers in post-manifesto Utah by pushing the sexuality of a polygamous harem is interesting to consider, but difficult to prove.

After the turn of the century Johnson's images started to show more nudity. Based on the wording, color, font style, and verso inscription there are thirteen different styles of stereo-views in the collection at Utah State University. Six stereo-views representing four different styles have copyright dates of either 1903 or 1904. Assuming that the same style of stereo-view was not used over a period of years (and given the fact that the same models show up in different styles) we can say that the most suggestive images come from that time period. For instance, one set shows a woman in a full-body, transparent outfit. Perhaps the most shocking series (with the same stereographic style as a 1904 copyrighted image) depicts two women in vaguely oriental costume who are undressing one another. These images do not have the awkward embraces, or the girlish, fun-loving spirit of the Spanish-American War series. The two women are touching one another's bare flesh in a sensual way.[14]

[13] Allen, *Horrible Prettiness*, 225-27; Johnson Photographs, 9:158-159 and 10:01-02.

[14] Johnson Photographs, 10:09-20. Around 1903 Johnson also became much more ambitious in marketing his stereo-views. In 1903 and 1904 he visited the Holy Land and attended the St. Louis World's Fair. In keeping with his travels the wordings on his stereo-views seem to suggest a larger audience than Utah. "You see Johnson all over The World," and "Johnson's Stereo Views of Everything - Views of the World, Comic and Fancy Subjects, etc.," are inscribed on nearly every image. The inscription from the verso side of a 1903 image reads "C.E. Johnson, Supt. Salt Lake, San Francisco and N.Y. . . . Manfr's of Photo Views, Lantern Slides, View Books, Stereoscopic Views, etc. Views of Utah and the Great West a specialty. . . ."

The most brazen example of nudity in a stereo-view is from an image labeled, "Artistic reflections."[15] For Charles there seemed to be an overlap between artistry and commercialism. During this time "artistic" photographs were large-format (8 x 10 inches or larger) and carefully produced, not by a darkroom technician, but by the photographer himself. Johnson did make at least one large-format nude study using his 18 x 22 inch camera in 1902, so this image falls within what could have been considered artistic.[16] The nude study model, however, also appears in several risqué stereo-views, mass reproduced images designed for commercial sale.

Studio owners commonly hired out much of the daily photography work. There is, however, some intriguing evidence that Johnson took many of the photographs himself. A relative inquired in a 1897 letter, "Have you made many Actresses photos lately?" In 1903 he wrote: "I went to the Grand Opera House to see Geo. Ade's Opera, The Sultan of Sulu. It is only fairly good - not near as many funny sayings as you would suppose, but the costumes and pretty girls are all right." In another letter written from Jerusalem he wrote about photographing Middle Eastern women: "One or two pretty girls have shown me their faces when they were quite sure there was no rubber neckers around. They are just as [bashful] about showing their faces as our girls are to be seen half dressed."[17]

Although there is no evidence that Charles was prosecuted, based on Utah's indecency statutes, some of his risqué images were probably illegal. Penal Code 4247 in the 1898 *Revised Statutes of Utah* reads in part: "Every person who willfully and lewdly either—Writes, composes, stereotypes, prints, publishes, sells, distributes, keeps for sale, or exhibits any obscene or indecent writing, paper, or book; or designs, copies, draws, engraves, paints, or otherwise prepares any obscene or indecent picture or print; or moulds, cuts, casts, or otherwise makes any obscene or indecent figure;—is guilty of a misdemeanor." The word "stereotypes" surely is a reference to stereo-views and given the standards of the time some of his images would have been considered obscene.

It is hard to imagine that the LDS church leaders would have approved. In 1899 LDS Apostle Rudger Clawson commented upon the possible sale of the Salt Lake Theater by Heber J. Grant to the LDS church: "...would prefer that the church [does] not buy it, as it is so difficult to control the character of performances given there, and the church would many times be exposed to adverse criticism."[18] LDS President Joseph F. Smith later expressed this concern about the "performances given" in the theater in 1911:

[15] Johnson Photographs, 9:84.

[16] Brigham Young University, Harold B. Lee Library, Special Collections, Photo Archives, photograph number P-6 J649 976.

[17] Johnson Papers, box 4, folder 12.

[18] Stan Larson, ed., *A Ministry of Meetings: The Apostolic Diaries of Rudger Clawson, 1898-1904* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 97.

RIGHT: "Beauty Chorus" from theater program for the musical play, The Time, The Place, and The Girl, c. 1907. LEFT: Theater program for the musical comedy "The Passing Show of 1912."

> We have some interest in the old Salt Lake Theatre here . . . to afford a high class of amusement that would be intelligible and entertaining, instructive to those who desire such entertainment... but when we get really high class performances in that theatre the benches are practically empty, while vaudeville theatres, where are exhibitions of nakedness, of obscenity, of vulgarity, and everything else that does not tend to elevate the thought and mind of man, will be packed from the pit to the dome. . . . I wish to say to the Latter-day Saints that I hope they will distinguish themselves by avoiding the necessity of being classed with people who prefer the vulgar to the chaste, the obscene to the pure, the evil to the good, and the sensual to the intellectual.[19]

Smith also did not hesitate to express his thoughts on 1913 clothing styles: "In my sight the present day fashions are abominable, suggestive of evil, calculated to arouse base passion and lust, and to engender lasciviousness, in the hearts of those who tolerate them. . . . God have mercy on our girls and help them dress decently!"[20]

President Smith was responding to the increasing presence of attractive

[19] *Official Report of the Semi-Annual General Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1911* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1911), 5.

[20] *Official Report of the Semi-Annual General Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1913* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1913), 8.

women wearing less and less in vaudeville plays, musical comedies, and all-female revue shows. Surprisingly, these shows played in the more respectable theaters such as the Salt Lake Theatre and the Capitol Theatre. Judging by theater programs and advertisements, the first all-female "beauty chorus" appeared in Salt Lake City vaudeville in 1907 (although it might have been earlier). After 1907 the presence of shapely women with fewer clothes became more pronounced. By 1912 vaudeville and musical comedies in Utah used the all-female revue with the main attraction of women in various states of dress and undress. The trend throughout the 1910s was towards more women and less clothes. By the 1920s blatant nudity appears in the advertisements.[21] By the early 1920s the risqué images Johnson sold were more acceptable as provocative images of the female form had become a fixture in American popular culture.

Johnson's images, however, came out long before the 1920s, and many questions still remain unanswered. Why did he test the limits of propriety after the turn of the century? Did the stern-faced LDS church leaders who had their portraits taken in his studio know about these images? Was Johnson privately reprimanded or shunned by his peers? Given the history of the LDS church and lewdness what led Johnson down this path?

It is tempting to look at Johnson's father, Joseph, for answers. For instance, in 1905 Joseph's brother Benjamin F. Johnson wrote a letter in response to Charles' question about the fate of early family historical documents: "Your questions as to what I will do with the few records I may have to leave... to me is a subject of grave thought. For I have no one around me to whom such a care would be submitted and were you at heart a true Latter Day Saint... But I fear you are only a [Mormon] and our woods are getting so full of them that I fear the Lord will soon turn his Bears Loose unless they repent..." In the same letter Benjamin implicitly made a connection between father and son: "...almost the last words of your father to me was 'Oh! If I could live just a few years yet I would religiously get out of my old life and get up where you are for I can now see so plainly what I have lost.' His mind seemed to open and he seemed greatly changed in his feeling and in his faith in Gospel [Ordinances]. But I knew it was then too late."[22]

The like-father-like-son argument can easily be overstated. Benjamin Johnson was, after all, the family nag when it came to religious concerns. It is interesting to note, however, that Joseph's relationship with the LDS church may have been a bit rocky or, at the very least, fairly casual. The elder Johnson began life on April 28, 1817, in Chautauqua County, New York. He came from a Presbyterian family of sixteen siblings, all of whom received biblical instruction from their mother Julia. In 1831 the family, except the father Ezekiel, converted to The Church of Jesus Christ of

[21] Theatre Programs Collection, 1866-1966 MSS B-44, boxes 1 and 2, Utah State Historical Society.
[22] Johnson Papers, box 4, folder 11.

Latter-day Saints. In 1833 they moved to Kirtland, Ohio. After the fall of Kirtland in 1838, the family moved to Springfield, Illinois, and Joseph became a schoolteacher. In 1840 the family moved to Nauvoo and Joseph married Harriet Snider. In 1846 he and Harriet moved to Montrose, Iowa. To make ends meet he opened a store, which manufactured his homemade medicinal remedies. Two years later he moved again, this time to Kanesville (later renamed Council Bluffs) and opened another store, became the postmaster, started a small farm, and edited a newspaper. He also entered into plural marriage with Hannah Maria Goddard. In 1854 Joseph moved across the Missouri River to the fledgling town of Omaha and started another newspaper.[23]

Joseph and an English girl Eliza Saunders probably met during one of Joseph's trips to St. Louis to purchase merchandise for his store in Council Bluffs. Eliza became Joseph's third wife in 1856. This marriage was initially kept secret from the public (to avoid prosecution in Nebraska), from Eliza's parents (they didn't approve of plural marriage), and also from Joseph's first two wives. Eventually, however, he was brought up on charges in Iowa. His legal woes were stalled with the help of gentile allies, and of his political aspirations, business problems, and delicate legal situation convinced him to move to Salt Lake City.[24] Young Charles was only three years old when he and his mother made the trek in 1860. Joseph did not travel with them, and he initially seemed reluctant to follow. He and his first two wives, however, joined them soon afterward. Roughly a year after coming to Salt Lake City, the extended family once again moved, this time to Spring Lake near Payson, Utah. Joseph operated a printing press, nursery, manufactured medicines, and started a store. In 1865 the family moved even further south to the warmer climate in St. George.[25]

In St. George, Charles Johnson grew to manhood in a family that valued culture and learning. As he himself wrote, "I grew up a country boy, but one who always had the surroundings of literature, art, and gentility."[26] But in rural St. George, he must have seemed quite cultured and intellectual in comparison to other young men of the period. He read widely, he wrote articles for his father's paper, and he was keenly interested in both botany and anthropology. As Charles grew to manhood Joseph became increasingly dependent on him not only for his companionship, but also to run his various small businesses. Charles was a serious and hard-working boy. His early diary entries are filled with observations about the weather and document his long hours of work.[27]

[23] Johnson, *J. E. J.,* 1-4, 36, 39, 44-49, 53-54, 60-61, 63-64, 70-72, 97, 99, 107-109, 141, 205, and 456-57.

[24] Johnson, *J. E. J.* 223-26, 263, 273, 275, 297-300, and 329-30; Joseph Ellis Johnson Family, Familysearch http://www.familysearch.org.

[25] "Autobiography of Charles Ellis Johnson," file MSS 571, Special Collections & Archives, Utah State University.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Johnson, *J.E.J.,* 416-17, 434, 445-46. Either Charles did not keep a regular diary or the diaries have been lost for these brief entries are the only examples known to the author, Johnson Papers, box 3, folders 1 and 2.

While Joseph was certainly involved with the LDS church throughout his life, he was also an independent man in thought and in action. He easily moved between Mormon and non-Mormon circles, and while in Iowa and Nebraska he had extensive business and political connections with non-members. In fact, he wished to remain in Nebraska, and his reluctance to move to Salt Lake City was noted by Brigham Young.[28] When he did move to Salt Lake City it was only for a year. Later his youngest son Rufus wrote that he, "...avoided appointment to Church offices whenever he could...." Finally, on a number of occasions he was cited for selling "spiritous liquors," and he was a life-long user of tobacco.[29]

In 1878 he once again pulled up stakes and moved his by now quite large family to the Salt River area of central Arizona. At that time Charles had little reason to move with the rest of the family. Brigham Young spent his winters in St. George and often brought along various family members including his daughter Ruth. After the two were married in 1878, they lived in Brigham Young's St. George home while Charles cleared up remaining family business. The couple had two sons (Ellis and Jay Elliot) and a daughter (Adelia, who died in infancy), but would eventually live separate lives. Ruth along with the two boys moved to California with another man, but eventually Ellis and Jay Elliot returned to Utah. Ruth and Charles were permanently separated by 1895.[30]

While Johnson never remarried, he did have an unconventional relationship with another woman. Charles probably met Minne B. Ridley for the first time after returning from a tour of the Holy Land in 1903 and 1904.[31] While on this trip Johnson left his business interests in the hands of his younger brothers who, apparently, were struggling to keep them afloat. They did hire Minnie Ridley who possessed an aptitude for business and eventually Charles and Minnie would straighten out the drug store, studio, and Kodak/Souvenir store while leaving the VTR in the hands of the brothers. Charles remained a studio photographer while Minnie ran the stores. The arrangement worked well but in 1914 Minnie passed away and Charles sold his businesses. In 1916 he moved to San Jose, California, to live with the Ridley family.[32]

[28] Johnson Papers, box 4, folder 38. In an 1856 letter from Joseph's sister Martha, she claims to have had a conversation with Brigham Young in which he urged her to help speed along Joseph's move to Utah.

[29] Johnson Papers, box 1, folder 5 and box 4, folders 20 and 23, Johnson, *J.E.J.*, 53, and 342-43.

[30] "Autobiography of Charles Ellis Johnson," Johnson, *J.E.J.,* 500, and Wadsworth, *Set in Stone,* 282 and 284; Johnson Papers, box 5, folder 11.

[31] Johnson went to the Holy Land with the imposingly named actress Madame Lydia Mary Olive Von Pinkelstein Manreouv Montford. Montford narrated popular biblical dramas acted out by native Palestinians in costume. Johnson and Montford intended to sell the views at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair. After spending nearly a year in Jerusalem and Palestine taking over 2,000 images, however, they discovered that Montford's earlier contract had been repudiated and their profit would now be negligible. Johnson, *J.E.J.,* 500; and Wadsworth, *Set in Stone,* 289, 292, 297, 301, 305, 308.

[32] "Autobiography of Charles Ellis Johnson," and Wadsworth, *Set in Stone,* 289, 308; "Charles Ellis Johnson, Passed Away," *Improvement Era* 29 (February 23, 1926): 609; and Johnson, *J.E.J.*, 501.

One of the mysteries of Charles's life is his connection with Minnie and the Ridley family. He left his brothers and sisters, his two sons, his businesses, and the town he had lived in for more than thirty years to live with people who were nearly strangers. Furthermore, Johnson stayed with the Ridley's (who were not LDS) for about nine years. There is at least one instance in the genealogical records of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints that lists Minnie, not Ruth Young, as Charles' wife.[33] Photo historian Nelson Wadsworth describes Minnie as Charles' sister-in-law, but this is not confirmed in the records, and all the literature (including Mr. Wadsworth's) refers to her as "Miss Ridley." If Minnie were only a former employee of his, it seems a bit strange that her family went to the trouble of taking him in after her death. The 1910 census indicates that Minnie lived with Charles as a "servant" even though she shows up under a different address in the Salt Lake City Polk Directory. Charles signed Minnie's death certificate but was unable to provide information about where she was born, her father's name, her age, or even her birthdate.[34] We do know that they were both single and had a very close business relationship. Charles seems to have considered Minnie a business partner rather than an employee and implied that her death was an important factor when he left Utah.[35] She, however, is not mentioned in the few surviving Johnson family documents. Johnson's move to California might also be explained because, like his father, he became eager to leave Salt Lake City. Rufus wrote to his brother in 1916: "I see your heart is still set on California, and I hope you will be able to wind up the business and go there where I am sure there will be more pleasure for you than in Salt Lake."[36] At that point in time Salt Lake City was not an inviting place for Johnson. If LDS President Smith knew about the risqué photographs surely he would not have patronized him and would have strongly discouraged others to as well.

Trying to piece together Johnson's life by peeling back the layers of obscurity is difficult. This obscurity is even more pronounced for his risqué images and his position with the LDS church. As the earlier letter from his Uncle Benjamin shows, at least one person in the family considered him less than true to his Mormon background. What then is a "true Latter-day Saint," and what is "only a Mormon?" Rufus, for instance, stated that Johnson was not, "a dogmatically religious person and there is little to tell of his church positions and accomplishments."[37] Furthermore, in relating a family story in which Joseph Smith, Jr., told his grandmother Julia that all

[33] Minnie Bell Ridley, Familysearch, http://www.familysearch.org.

[34] 1910 United States Federal Census, Utah, Salt Lake County, *Polk's Salt Lake City Directory* (Salt Lake City: R.L. Polk & Co., 1910); and State of Utah - Death Certificate, File No. 1371, Series 20842, Number 45688, Utah State Archives.

[35] "Autobiography of Charles Ellis Johnson."

[36] Johnson Papers, box 4, folder 12.

[37] Johnson, *J.E.J.*, 501.

of her children would remain in the LDS church Rufus wrote, "If applied to her direct offspring the promise was fulfilled. . . . In later generations, however, there have been some, who, while not apostatizing formally have done so by their indifference to, and failure to cooperate with Church requirements."[38]

A curious, irreverent letter written by Charles while in Jerusalem reads, "The weather is not very good, and I may go to church. I can select any of the 40 there are here, and no doubt any one of them could show me the straight way to Heaven (That is if I had any desire to know). I will take the matter into consideration. (Do you think I will go?)"[39] Charles Johnson was also not part of the 1914 LDS church census, but perhaps most telling is that after his death in 1926 he was not given a Mormon burial.[40] Portraits of two very different men emerge from the records. On the one hand there was the man who had married Brigham Young's daughter, who was a dutiful son to his mother, and a caring sibling to his brothers and sisters. This man took photographs of the Temple dedication in 1893, the Quorum of the Twelve and the First Presidency, and traveled with the Mormon Tabernacle Choir.[41] The other man shows up mostly after 1902. That man grew increasingly distant from the LDS church, photographed half-dressed women, had a relationship with another woman that his family seems strangely quiet about, and, of course, published risqué images. Johnson, however, left no diary in which he divulged his most personal thoughts. Furthermore what, if any, unofficial action the LDS church took towards the images sold by one of their own, and the consequences for Charles at a personal level, is by nature speculative.

We can speculate, however, that Charles's father showed his son how to form a friendly but distant relationship with The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Perhaps as a youth he imagined himself rising within the LDS church hierarchy. These feelings may have intensified after he married Ruth Young and moved to Salt Lake City. At some point, however, there was an internal shift in his life. He and Ruth Young separated; he became more immersed in the theater world and was exposed to young actors and actresses from outside Utah with a radically different perspective. These younger men and women (people like Ella Wheeler Wilcox) would have had a considerably more laissez faire attitude about relationships and sexuality than Johnson. After becoming a photographer he found his own artistic medium. Like other art photographers at the time he started shooting artistic nudes. From there it was a short step to risqué images sold in burlesque theaters and, perhaps discreetly in his store.

Charles Johnson became, in effect, a "Social Mormon." He did not break

[38] Ibid., 80.
[39] Johnson Papers, box 4, folder 21.
[40] Wadsworth, *Set in Stone*, 311.
[41] Johnson Photographs, box 11.

ties with the church completely; there was his family to consider and his businesses as well. As an image-maker he understood how important it was to build and maintain a positive image of oneself. In his position as a Salt Lake City businessman leaving under a cloud of controversy would have been disastrous. He would not have wanted to draw attention and it was not in his nature to be confrontational. His family, like other Mormon families, would have shown concern with a "wayward" member, but he maintained a patina of Mormonism rather than completely separating so, perhaps, the issue never reached a boiling point.

Although there is no historical evidence, it seems unlikely that the risqué images did not come to the attention of LDS church leaders. Historian Klaus Hansen wrote that, "in this period [around 1900] we perceive an intensified Mormon campaign for observance of the Word of Wisdom and an increase in excommunications due to sexual transgressions... sin was increasingly equated with sex, if not according to official doctrine, certainly according to the manner in which church authorities enforced compliance with sexual norms, thus shaping a quasi-official attitude."[42] In this climate, then, Johnson would have felt himself to be even more of an outsider. After 1900 there would have been a serious split in Johnson between his Mormon heritage and the new sexual norms of the theater. Given his broken marriage, his taste for attractive women, his connection with gentile theater groups, his disinterestedness in the LDS church, and his unconventional relationship with Minnie, publishing risqué images would not have been such a difficult step.

[42] Klaus Hansen, "Changing Perspectives on Sexuality and Marriage," in *Multiply and Replenish: Mormon Essays on Sex and Family*, ed. Brent Corcoran (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 39.

U.S. SENATE HISTORICAL OFFICE

Senator William H. King of Utah and His Campaigns Against Russian Communism, 1917-1933

By MARKKU RUOTSILA

Twentieth century American history is littered with the little-remembered names of men and women who tried to make the United States the leader of an international coalition for the physical destruction of Soviet Russia. From the early Cold War, historians tend to recall a number of them under the rubrics of "roll-back" and "liberation."[1] Much less known are the physical-force anticommunists, those who supported military action to destroy communist regimes, who worked for similar ends before the Cold War.

Some of these men and women occupied important positions in the U.S. Congress, and

Senator William Henry King at his desk in Washington, D.C., 1931.

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[1] See David S. Foglesong, "'Roots of Liberation': American Images of the Future of Russia in the Early Cold War, 1948-53," *The International History Review* 21 (March 1999): 57-79; Daniel Kelly, *James Burnham and the Struggle for the World: A Life* (Wilmington, DE: ISI Books, 2002); Gregory Mitrovich, *Undermining the Kremlin: America's Strategy to Subvert the Soviet Bloc, 1947-1956* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000).

in the crucial first three years after the 1917 Bolshevik *coup d'etat*, they engaged in a feverish campaign for an anti-Bolshevik military intervention in Russia. Their effort failed, and in the thirty years that followed before the onset of the Cold War, these people had to fall back on a holding operation that came to be known as containment.

No congressional leader was as energetic and passionate a campaigner for a comprehensive, force-based anticommunism in the period before the Cold War than the four-term Democratic Senator from Utah, William H. King. His pursuit of military intervention to destroy the Bolshevik regime in 1918 through 1920 and his campaign for denying trade to the Bolsheviks in 1920 and 1921, deserve recognition. So does the key part that he played in 1919 in setting the parameters of the domestic counter-subversive effort and of the popular anticommunist ideology that informed the thinking of most Americans until the end of the Cold War. Throughout the interwar period, King continued to nurture American anticommunism in each of these senses, and in 1933 he reemerged as a key opponent of the eventually implemented diplomatic recognition of Soviet Russia.

At first sight, little in William H. King's background and career would appear to make him a particularly likely candidate for leadership among force-based anticommunists. Born in 1863 in Fillmore, Utah, as the son of a prosperous cattle farmer, he was raised in the fold of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS), and educated at Brigham Young Academy, the University of Utah, and the University of Michigan. After receiving his law degree in 1888, he embarked on a long and rather unexciting career as a lawyer and politician, which did not seem to distinguish him much from the average. King served, successively, in various municipal offices in Millard County, in the Utah territorial legislature and council, as an associate justice on the Utah Supreme Court, as a U. S. Representative from Utah, and as a practicing attorney in Salt Lake City. Elected to the U.S. Senate in 1916, he rounded out his public service by persisting in the Senate, without a break, until 1940. There, King served on several key Senate committees, including the prestigious Foreign Relations Committee, and chaired a number of others.[2]

The political philosophy that guided King's activities in the Senate did hint at the influences that made him an anticommunist. King was a traditional Jeffersonian Democrat, a believer in individual freedom and limited government. His thinking was steeped in Social Darwinist assumptions, chief among which was the supposition that "progress follows individualism, and a certain degree of particularistic evolution, as is expounded by [Herbert] Spencer, results from differentiation. Progress is marked by growth from homogenouity to heterogenouity, and this finds its exemplification in the life of States as well as in the biological field."[3] King

[2] For basic biographical details, see *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, vol. 39 (New York: James T. White & Company, 1954), 88-89.

[3] *Congressional Record*, 66th Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington, DC: USGPO, 1919), 8706-708. (Hereafter referred to as CR.)

regarded this theory as a scientific fact proven by the American experience in self-rule, and he based all his policies upon it. From it, he derived an unalterable opposition to all attempts to circumscribe the rights of private ownership, the inviolability of contract, and the primacy of individual liberty.[4]

Throughout his career, King opposed all forms of centralization of power, all extensions of bureaucratic governance and state dictation, be these in the guise of the wartime collectivism that the Wilson administration introduced during the First World War or in the guise of the International Labor Organization, a key constituent of the League of Nations, that presumed to legislate globally in areas of social and industrial policy.[5] Towards the end of his career, he became a critic of the New Deal, and in the decades in between he campaigned prominently for the independence of Haiti, Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo, and of Armenia, the Virgin Islands, Nicaragua, and the Philippines. As those historians who have studied King's anti-imperialism have noted, his position was rooted alike in the conviction that the United States had no right to colonial administration, since no people deserved subjection to another, and in the fear that imperial undertakings with their inevitably strengthened bureaucracies and military establishments would undermine civil liberties and democratic governance at home.[6]

Just as importantly, King's anticommunism was rooted in his faith as a Mormon. In his early manhood, King had served for three years as a missionary in England, and by all accounts, his faith, always in conjunction with his libertarian political philosophy, continued to play a major role in shaping his policies in later years.[7] Certainly, it frequently colored his expression on political matters apparently unrelated to religious concerns, and never more so than in the case of Russian Bolshevism. Thus, he would insist that "Bolshevism stands condemned by God, man, and even by Hell itself," that at its core was "atheism and denunciation of God, of religion, of all spiritual factors" and that its principal aim was the destruction of "Christianity: and all other sorts of religion" and "sacraments of the church." Religion was the foundation of Western civilization, King insisted, the "basis of law and order and of orderly government," and ultimately it was the Bolsheviks' denial of this fact that made them "our enemies, enemies to our country and to our form of government and to civilization."[8]

[4] William H. King, "`We Hope For a Great, Free and Independent Russia,'" *Struggling Russia* (New York, The Russian Information Bureau), November 22, 1919, 531.

[5] CR, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess., 571-72, 651, 712; CR, 66th Cong.,1st Sess., 6331-332, 8706-8; CR, 66th Cong., 2nd Sess., 5980.

[6] See Lawrence M. Hauptman, "Utah's Anti-Imperialist: Senator William H. King and Haiti, 1921-34," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 41 (Spring 1973): 116-27; Robert David Johnson, *The Peace Progressives and American Foreign Relations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 115-16, 263-67.

[7] *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, vol. 39, 88-89.

[8] CR, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess., 1167, 1971; CR, 66th Cong., 1st Sess., 3490; U. S. Senate, *Brewing and Liquor Interests and German and Bolshevik Propaganda, Report and Hearings of the Subcommittee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, 65th Congress* (Washington, DC: USGPO, 1919), 136, 139.

In this religious denunciation of Communism, King blazed the trail for his church's official position. In the mid-1930s, the church's First Presidency would come to insist that Communism was "contrary to the fundamental precepts of the Gospel and to the teachings and order of the Church." This being the case, the very "safety of our divinely inspired constitutional government and the welfare of our church imperatively demand that Communism shall have no place in America." No loyal church member and no true American could be a "Communist or supporter of Communism"; all must "completely . . . eschew Communism."[9]

His LDS religious faith and Jeffersonian political philosophy, then, propelled King into the anticommunist movement. He started as a key participant in the congressional investigations of Bolshevik subversion that were begun in early 1919. A member of the so called Overman Committee, which investigated wartime Bolshevik and German subversion in America, he took the lead in aggressive questioning of the many Bolshevik sympathizers and experts that appeared before the committee. King did not, in fact, accept the Overman Committee's recommendations for counter-subversive policy unreservedly, for being a believer in a strictly limited government, he feared that some of the proposed policies might threaten American civil liberties.[10]

Most of King's reservations tended, however, to melt away after late April 1919, when it was discovered that he was one of thirty-six political and business leaders to whom bombs had been mailed. It was generally assumed that Bolsheviks were responsible. In his case, the bomb was intercepted before it reached his offices, but the episode nevertheless confirmed in a very personal way that King was not battling against a mirage. He responded by drafting a bill that would have made the transportation of bombs in interstate commerce and membership in organizations advocating the violent overthrow of the government punishable by death.[11] King insisted, too, that all alien Bolshevik and anarchist agitators be deported, that new immigration controls be instituted to prevent the arrival of more of them, and that Bolshevik trade representatives be expelled from American soil.[12]

Concurrently with the Overman Committee's deliberations, King took the lead in calling for an aggressive force-based dimension to American anticommunist policy. Men like him were not satisfied with all merely reactive concepts of anticommunism and did not accept that counter-subversion alone could ever negate the Bolshevik threat. Only a comprehensive policy that applied both military power and the full range of available "soft power"

[9] *Improvement Era*, 39 (August 1936): 438-39; "Church Presidency Commended," *Deseret News*, August 19, 1936; "L.D.S. Heads Assail Communism as Foe of America," *Salt Lake Telegram*, July 3, 1936.

[10] U. S. Senate, *Brewing and Liquor Interests and German and Bolshevik Propaganda*, 66th Con., 1st Sess., serial 7597, 46-48, 120-39, 147-52, 465, 517. The report and King's qualifications are on pages xxix-l.

[11] Robert K. Murray, *Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria, 1919-1920* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955), 70-71, 80.

[12] CR, 66th Cong. 1st Sess., 1909-10.

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American troops in Vladivostok, Siberia, August 1918.

seemed to these anticommunists to have even reasonable chances of success. In the several years that followed the ending of the First World War, no one in the Senate did more than King to pressure the powers-that-be into this kind of a comprehensive policy. Its goal was the actual, immediate destruction of the Bolshevik regime; this comprehensive policy proposal wanted to apply the full range of available tools, including military force.

The context in which King unfolded his effort was one in which President Woodrow Wilson had settled on a policy of "watchful waiting." This connoted a set of measures pegged on the assumption that time containment and a limited regimen of covert action would moderate the objectionable aspects of Bolshevik policy. Wilson hoped to address the root causes of that worldwide sense of grievance to which the Bolsheviks made their appeal, and to do this via a radical regimen of international social reform that the League of Nations and its International Labor Organization would institute. He accepted that any (unlikely, as he saw it) possible external aggressions by the Bolshevik regime would have to be resisted, and he agreed to send American troops to Russia during the war, but only to sustain with humanitarian and moral assistance those in North Russia and in the Siberian-based, so called Omsk government who fought on the American side against Germany. Wilson did come covertly to supply surplus military stock to Admiral A.V. Kolchak, the Omsk government's eventual head, and to other anti-Bolsheviks. But unlike some of the European leaders who from late 1918 hoped to transform the wartime intervention into a postwar anti-Bolshevik one, Wilson always remained a sworn

opponent of using American and Allied troops against the Bolsheviks.[13]

As a convinced supporter of a revised League of Nations Covenant, King was by no means unappreciative of the force of the core Wilsonian argument.[14] He recognised that the Bolsheviks had to be fought through social reform that removed the grievances to which they made their appeal. But he regarded social reform anticommunism no less insufficient than counter-subversion, if it was to be the sole content of American countermeasures. Physical force was also needed against enemies who themselves used physical force.

Thus, already during the war King had demanded an anti-Bolshevik military intervention in Russia. He proposed in June 1918, an amendment to the army appropriations bill that would have empowered the U.S. government to recruit a special Russian Legion from among émigré Russian anti-Bolsheviks and all others who, as he put it, "desire to be emancipated from the tyranny of bolshevikism." In King's scheme, military action would have been supplemented and supported by a massive program of humanitarian assistance not unlike that which Wilson was initiating. Only, King insisted that the assistance must go only to areas not under Bolshevik control.[15]

In the Congress, few men picked up on these suggestions at the time. Outside, however, former Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft, the *New York Times*, and the powerful editor of the *North American Review* and *Harvey's Weekly*, George Harvey, made the cause of an anti-Bolshevik military intervention their own. Roosevelt in his articles in the *Kansas City Star*, Taft in the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* and at public platforms, and Harvey in his periodicals, lent their prestige to what was a passionate and widely disseminated campaign for a specifically anti-Bolshevik military intervention.[16] In Europe, too, conservative voices such as the British Secretary of War Winston Churchill's, increasingly called for the same.[17]

[13] See Markku Ruotsila, *British and American Anticommunism before the Cold War* (London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2001), 69-84, 120-22, 137-40, 141-45; David S. Foglesong, *America's Secret War against Bolshevism: U.S. Intervention in the Russian Civil War, 1917-1920* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 5-9, 57-71, 76-90, 162-64.

[14] King wanted the League of Nations Covenant revised so that it would recognize the Monroe Doctrine, exclude all immigration, tariff, and property rights issues from the League's jurisdiction and not lead to American membership in the ILO. Like the LDS leaders, he, however, supported League ratification in principle. See *Louisville Courier-Journal*, March 22, 1919, 1; CR 66th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1220-22; Herbert F. Margulies, *The Mild Reservationists and the League of Nations Controversy in the Senate* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1989), 123-24, 161, 196.

[15] CR, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess., 8480-802.

[16] See Ralph Stout, ed., *Roosevelt in the Kansas City Star: War-Time Editorials by Theodore Roosevelt* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1921), 121-22, 158-59, 162-65; James F. Vivian, ed., *William Howard Taft, Collected Editorials, 1917-1921* (New York: Praeger, 1990), 51-52, 65-67, 84-85, 92-94, 597-98; William Howard Taft's addresses, December 12 and 30, 1918, William Howard Taft Papers, ser. 9A, reel 574 and ser. 9C, reel 588, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; *The North American Review's War Weekly*, June 15, 1918, 2-3 and June 29, 1918, 12; *New York Times*, December 22, 1918, 1, December 27, 1918, 10.

While these and other conservatives' agitation proceeded in the press, King stepped up his activities in Congress. On November 21, 1918, he proposed a resolution in the Senate, asking President Wilson to recognize the Omsk government and to admit its officials to the upcoming peace conference in Paris as Russia's representatives. King's resolution further asked that Wilson lead the peace conference "to preserve and guarantee the territorial integrity of Russia, and to afford every liberty and facility for the Russian people by a Constituent Assembly to determine and establish a future government for that country." Most importantly, King insisted that the peace conference ought to start giving "financial and military aid to Russia, to overthrow bolshevist tyranny and anarchy, to provide food and other material assistance for the people, and to assist the Russian people in bringing their country into economic order and progress."[18]

No elected representative of the American people had previously issued such a call, nor did many hurry to follow King. In the next several months' debates he was subjected to predictable and severe criticism by those of his peers, Senators Hiram W. Johnson (R-California) and Robert M. La Follette (R-Wisconsin) in particular, who saw the Bolsheviks not as the sworn enemies of the United States but as mistaken idealists in a hurry who were best dealt with patient constructive engagement.[19] By this time, President Wilson was in Europe, and the way in which Congress' divided counsels were presented to him in no wise made King's task easier. The advice that Wilson received, namely, had the Johnson-La Follette position on the ascendant, and the President was told that such being the case, he should not give even the appearance of countenancing the physical-force anticommunists lest he jeopardize the support that his League of Nations plans enjoyed on the left. Consequently, he paid no heed to King's proposal.[20]

But King and like-minded men persisted in their effort. They kept trying to generate public awareness about the Bolsheviks and to create a public opinion amenable to the logic of their force-based proposals. With this they hoped to pressure President Wilson and the others at Paris. Thus, in January 1919, King told his colleagues that had the United States sent between fifty thousand and one-hundred thousand troops to Russia long ago, the whole matter of Bolshevism would already have been satisfactorily settled and the world would be on the road to peace and contentment. It was still not too late to "wall in the Bolshevik murderers and madmen."[21] In February, as the

[17] Ruotsila, *British and American Anticommunism before the Cold War*, 94-97.

[18] CR, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess., 11609.

[19] CR, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess., 342-46, 1101-103.

[20] Joseph Tumulty to Woodrow Wilson, January 6, 1919 (two telegrams), and Frank L. Polk to Robert Lansing, January 6, 1919 (three telegrams), in Arthur S. Link, et al., eds., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vol. 53 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 625-26, 627-33, respectively; and Frank L. Polk to Robert Lansing, January 24 and February 4, 1919, vol. 54 , 259-60, 486-87, respectively.

[21] CR, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess., 1166-167; *New York Times*, January 23, 1919, 1.

peace conference started deliberating a joint Allied intervention plan that Winston Churchill had drafted, King again called for substantive military aid to all who were willing to fight "these robbers and murderers" in Russia. This time, he received strong support across the partisan divide from Senator Porter J. McCumber (R-North Dakota) who proposed a resolution of his own in favor of military aid and direct American intervention. Not satisfied with the one hundred thousand troops that King envisioned, McCumber called for five hundred thousand.[22] Also Senators Edwin S. Johnson (D-South Dakota), Charles Thomas (D-Colorado), James A. Reed (D-Missouri), and Henry L. Myers (D-Montana) now joined the emerging bipartisan clamor for force-based anticommunism and started to demand either unilateral American military action against the Bolsheviks or a joint Allied and American campaign.[23]

The story of the remarkable, if uncoordinated, trans-Atlantic campaign of pressure that ensued has been told elsewhere. Briefly put, in the spring, summer and early autumn of 1919, King and his congressional allies, William Howard Taft and the activists of the intensely anti-Bolshevik Social Democratic League, and like-minded men in the British Parliament, and in the conservative press on both sides of the Atlantic, issued a crescendo of calls for recognizing and assisting Kolchak militarily. This public campaign unfolded simultaneously with Churchill's secret consultations with Kolchak's headquarters that were designed to prompt the admiral into giving satisfactory assurances on his democratic goals. These, it was felt, were the minima needed to nudge Wilson along.[24]

King's part in this campaign was to submit a congressional resolution proposing the recognition of the Kolchak government. When he did this, King emphasised that Kolchak deserved recognition because he represented those Russians who had loyally stood by America in the war and were, withal, genuinely interested in "liberty and law" and in the institution of a "republican form of government" in Russia. To sustain these kinds of people's efforts "for the overthrow of the Bolshevist tyranny and anarchy," King demanded that the United States government immediately start giving credits and substantial military assistance, as well as food and clothing, to Kolchak's forces.[25]

The resolution was forwarded to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations where King and his allies continued to push for its adoption. While impossible to ascertain with certainty, it is fair to assume that the unprecedented trans-Atlantic pressure that was put on Wilson at this point did help pave the way to the turning-point in American Russian policy

[22] CR, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess., 3337-38, 3745, 4873-88.

[23] CR, 65th Cong., 3rd Sess., 1392, 1393-95, 2652; CR, 66th Cong., 1st Sess., 146.

[24] Markku Ruotsila, "The Origins of Anglo-American Anti-Bolshevism, 1917-21," (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1998), 203-22.

[25] CR, 66th Cong., 1st Sess., 157.

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Members of the United States Army Company A, 3Ist Infantry eating a meal from their rolling kitchen during a training exercise, Vladivostok, Siberia, December 3, 1918.

that was the Paris peace conference's decision to recognize Admiral Kolchak's regime on May 23, 1919. Not only did Wilson appear to agree to this long-standing King demand, but he even promised that the U.S. government would now hurry military supplies to Kolchak and perhaps even increase the number of its troops on Russian soil. Most likely, the sudden and rather unexpected military success that Kolchak was enjoying just at this time, which seemed to suggest that he was about to win in the Russian civil war, spoke to Wilson with great force. His growing cerebral trouble may also have contributed to what was an uncharacteristic decision.[26]

Churchill, for one, thought that the "very great change in the American attitude" meant that the Allies were now "definitely and irrevocably to take sides against the Bolsheviks."[27] But such hopes were dashed almost as soon as they emerged. President Wilson did ship additional foodstuffs to the Siberian forces, and he did release new monies for munitions purchases, but he did not recognize the Kolchak regime nor did he send the extensive military aid, nor the extra troops, that he had promised, only some boots,

[26] Ruotsila, "The Origins of Anglo-American Anti-Bolshevism, 1917-21," 203-22.

[27] Winston Churchill to Alfred Knox, May 22 and 28, 1919, Winston Churchill papers, CHAR 16/22, Churchill Archives Centre, Churchill College, Cambridge, England.

underclothing and surplus rifles, and this four months after having made the promise.[28] With such meager assistance the Kolchak forces could do little, for by the time that they received it, they were in retreat and, by February 1920, defeated.

This turn of events disheartened Senator King. Throughout the long death throes of the Kolchak forces, he insisted that both the Wilson administration and the Allied governments were failing to "meet the requirements of the hour. It is time that a policy should be adopted that will remove the menace which Russia presents to the peace of the world," he underlined in June 1919. Even in January 1920, barely a month before Kolchak's final defeat and death, he bemoaned the "blunders" of past Russia policy and insisted that American troops be kept in Europe and that they act with allies to prevent and check Bolshevik aggressions.[29] By and by, King, however, had to recognize that the three-year effort for a physical-force destruction of the Russian Communist regime had died aborning, and that it could not be resurrected. Increasingly, he felt that the struggle abroad must now rest on the shoulders of Russians alone and that its success required an altogether greater cooperation and leadership among their various factions than had been available thus far.[30]

After Kolchak's defeat, Senator King had to seek new ways of resisting the Bolsheviks' perceived menace. He settled upon what he frankly regarded as a second-best policy, still as comprehensive as possible but without the physical-force dimension. As sketched in his speeches and articles, this policy was to consist of intensified counter subversion and popular education campaigns at home in America, of increasingly radical, immediate social reform measures and humanitarian and economic assistance programs the world over, and of containment and non-intercourse with the Bolshevik regime itself. From 1920 onwards, King was at the forefront of those who pushed for such a set of anticommunist policies.

King's task was, however, becoming more difficult, since the election victory of Warren G. Harding in late 1920 inaugurated a twelve-year period of Republican ascendancy, which inevitably constricted the influence of a Democrat like King. Some of his extra-parliamentary anticommunist collaborators bemoaned this fact, for they had come to regard him as a particularly valuable leader of the cause in the Senate.[31] Concurrently, the Russian Communist regime, too, started to rethink its policies in ways that removed much of the popular sense of urgency that had helped King thus far. Not only did the Bolsheviks promulgate a nominal policy of "peaceful co-existence" with capitalist countries in January 1920, but they began, too,

[28] Foglesong, *America's Secret War against Bolshevism*, 180-84.

[29] CR, 66th Cong., 1st Sess., 1864; CR, 66th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1221-22.

[30] King, "We Hope For a Great, Free and Independent Russia," 531-32.

[31] Boris Bakhmeteff to John Spargo, December 30, 1920, John Spargo Papers, box 8, Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont, Burlington.

to court Western businessmen and investments to Russia. Then from April 1921, the New Economic Policy (NEP) began to restore small private industries and accepted foreign bourgeois assistance and expertise in the modernizing of the Russian economy.[32]

These changes in Russia, the ending of the military intervention and the believed interest of the business-minded Harding in extending U.S. foreign trade, emboldened the anti-interventionists in Congress. From late 1920, Senators Hiram Johnson, Joseph I. France (R-Maryland) and William E. Borah (R-Idaho) started to campaign for the lifting of the economic blockade of Russia, for the establishment of diplomatic relations and for the re-starting of trade. A clamorous section in the business community that sought profits from the supposedly lucrative Russian market joined these left-liberals, who sympathised with some aspects of the Bolshevik experiment.[33]

There was a Soviet trade representative in the United States, Ludwig Martens, just waiting for his chance (and cooperating with some of the congressional advocates of trade), whom King had long tried to have expelled.[34] Now King stepped up his calls to that end even as he assailed the trade and recognition advocates. His case against trade was unexceptional but passionate. On the one hand, King insisted that, their apparent change of heart notwithstanding, the "wicked and diabolical" Bolsheviks were still bent on "carrying on a world-wide revolution and [on] the destruction of all law and order and government." Their new outward friendliness was best explained as a tactic of lulling Americans into a false sense of security that would make the world revolutionary project easier. Withal, a resumption of trade would allow the Bolsheviks to carry that project forward with American financing. It mattered, too, that the Bolsheviks had shown such utter disregard for contractual obligations in the past that one simply could not know whether they would ever pay for any products that might be shipped to them. Finally, it was simply immoral for the United States to accept Bolshevik monies, monies that had been plundered from murdered bourgeoisie in contravention to all principles of international right and equity.[35]

Thus convinced, King offered a congressional resolution, twice, in December 1920 and January 1921, to keep the United States from establishing any kind of trade or diplomatic links with the Bolsheviks. He readily admitted that American security and welfare depended on the availability of world markets, and like the advocates of Russian trade, he hoped

[32] Richard Pipes, *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime, 1919-1924* (London: Harvill, 1994), 185-99, 282-99, 330-35, 337-59, 369-97, 401-3, 433-55.

[33] For details, see David McFadden, *Alternative Paths: Soviets and Americans, 1917-1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 267-93.

[34] CR, 66th Cong., 1st Sess., 157, 1910; CR, 66th Cong., 2nd Sess., 954. For Marten's activities, see McFadden, *Alternative Paths*, 274-93, 300-8.

[35] CR, 66th Cong., 2nd Sess., 3129; CR, 66th Cong., 3rd Sess., 1861-68.

for government credits to rehabilitate European economies and U.S.-European commercial intercourse. But no Bolshevik-controlled areas should be included in such a program; in Eastern Europe only the few still non-Bolshevik areas of Russia and the newly (and briefly) independent Ukraine and the Baltic states should be recognized and trade should be resumed with them. It was important thus to aid these remaining centers of anti-Bolshevik resistance, King insisted, because they alone could now prevent the "extension of the bolshevistic usurpation."[36]

In this, too, King hardly worked alone. Frequently in his speeches, he cited materials provided to him by John Spargo, the Social Democratic League's former chairman and an erstwhile advocate of Kolchak's recognition.[37] Spargo was engaged in his own campaign against re-allowing trade, both in the periodical press and behind the scenes first of the Wilson and then of the Harding administration. Back of Spargo's efforts were the émigré groups represented by Boris Bakhmeteff and Arkady J. Sack, the Russian Provisional Government's Ambassador to the United States, and the head of the Russian Information Bureau, respectively. Fairly early on, these men converted President Wilson to their purposes, and eventually they managed to enlist key Republican leaders as well, including William Howard Taft, Nicholas Murray Butler, Charles Evans Hughes, and Elihu Root.[38] The result was the so called Colby Note of August 1920, adumbrated by the Wilson administration and ratified by his three Republican successors, which finally established non-recognition, non-intercourse, non-dismemberment and moral disapprobation of Bolshevik Russia as official American policy. Aid and encouragement to the non-Bolshevik areas of old Russia remained a part of the program, as well.[39] The Note received strong support from the LDS *Deseret News* newspaper, and King called it "masterly."[40]

With non-intercourse thus achieved, King started to concentrate on what he regarded as the next immediate need, that is, the inoculation of those Americans who might be tempted by the Bolsheviks' siren songs. "We need never fear the military aggressions of any foreign foe," he now maintained. "Any dangers that this nation encounters will be of a domestic character, will be from within, not from without." He specified radical

[36] CR, 66th Cong., 2nd Sess., 2292-94, 4454, 4678; CR, 66th Cong., 3rd Sess., 1028, 1861-68, 2199-2202.

[37] William H. King to John Spargo, December 28, 1920, Spargo Papers, box 14; Boris Bakhmeteff to John Spargo, December 30, 1920, Spargo papers, box 8; William H. King to John Spargo, January 21, 1921, Spargo Papers, box 14; CR, 66th Cong., 3rd Sess., 2202, 2211-12.

[38] Markku Ruotsila, *John Spargo and American Socialism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming).

[39] For the drafting of the Colby Note, see Ronald Radosh, "John Spargo and Wilson's Russian Policy, 1920", *Journal of American History* 52 (December 1965), 548-65; Linda Killen, "Dusting Off an Old Document: Colby's 1920 Russian Policy Revisited," *Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations Newsletter* 22 (June 1991), 32-41; Ruotsila, *John Spargo and American Socialism*.

[40] CR, 66th Cong., 3rd Sess., 2202, 2211-12; "Pricking the Bolshevist Bubble", *Deseret News*, August 23, 1920.

labor and socialist groups (and some newspapermen) who, as he had it, tried to "poison the minds of the American people, to breed discontent and distrust among labourers."[41] He objected to the International Labor Organization, as well, on the same grounds, that is, because he thought that it would provide the "so-called socialistic working-class propaganda an international sanction and status subsidized by the League [of Nations]."[42] Combating the agitation of these groups would remain a central King preoccupation from then on.

For exactly the same reasons, in 1922 King tried to prevent the federal standardization of American primary education, for he was convinced that under such a system education would be taken over by those sympathetic to the Bolsheviks. So passionate about this was he that he even opposed the mooted creation by the Republican conservative, President Harding, of a Department of Education.[43]

At the same time, however, King started calling for a relatively radical regimen of those domestic social reforms that had been at the core of Woodrow Wilson's agenda. It was time, King now supposed, for cooperation between classes and for public authority to secure just working conditions, fair wages, and comfortable basic standards of living for all, and for business owners to accept labor into co-partnership in the management of production.[44] There was no contradiction between this reform agenda and King's erstwhile call for physical-force anticommunism; the latter had always been but one essential part of a comprehensive counter program that tried to bring into play all conceivable types of power, but it was never meant to be the sole content of anticommunism.

In 1923 and 1924, King appeared, however, to change course in the specifically Russian aspects of his anticommunist policy. To the dismay of some who believed in the necessity of a military intervention even under the changed circumstances, he emerged from an eight-week visit to Soviet Russia as the supporter of an apparently much more accommodating stance. In a major policy address that he made afterwards in the Senate, he reaffirmed his view that force-based solutions were no longer possible nor expedient, but he went on to relate that some sort of trading relations with Soviet Russia were now unavoidable and, after all, possibly beneficial. "Trade breaks down artificial and intellectual barriers," King now maintained, and "removes racial antipathies and promotes a more catholic and desirable international spirit." He would support a trade agreement (though not diplomatic recognition) that included strict provisos against subversion because he believed that it was now the best way to carry to Russia "not

[41] CR, 66th Cong., 1st Sess., 3489-90.

[42] CR, 66th Cong., 1st Sess., 8708.

[43] William H. King to Nicholas Murray Butler, April 12, 1922, Nicholas Murray Butler Papers, Special Collections, Columbia University, New York.

[44] CR, 66th Cong., 1st Sess., 3490, 6665-66.

only material things but the intangible and impalpable forces which so powerfully advance civilization."[45]

It may have been the LDS First Presidency that influenced this change in King's argument. In 1922, the Church Presidency had started to call for some sort of a negotiated settlement and *modus vivendi* with the Bolshevik power. Even the possibility of recognition was mooted in editorials in the *Deseret News*.[46] Yet it appears, too, that in a private meeting with the Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky when in Russia, King had been greatly impressed by Trotsky's general deportment and had started to reassess his views of a regime that included such a man. As the journalist Isaac Don Levine, who accompanied him, recalled, King had arrived in Russia in an "aggressive mood," but he had mellowed considerably when he noticed that Trotsky was, after all, a "charming . . . true gentleman." Not a true communist but a liberal of some sort, as King concluded, Trotsky seems to have convinced him that peace and progress, not world revolution, were the true aims at least of this one Bolshevik leader.[47]

King was not completely bowled over, however. After his encounter with Trotsky, he still insisted that Bolshevik Russia was a "sinister and malignant force in the world," and he claimed that he had told other Bolshevik leaders (most of whom he met on his trip) as much. Yet it appeared to him that the Bolsheviks were, after all, more interested in staying in power than in implementing any Marxian program of change, the program of world revolution included. Marxism was in decay in Russia, King averred, but this did not make that country any the less dangerous to the rest of the world, for the Bolsheviks' chosen means of perpetuating their power was an appeal to Russian and pan-Slavic nationalism that would lead to the same outcomes as a world revolutionary campaign. In fact, this tactic was more likely to succeed, since it had broader support.[48]

At the same time, King saw hopeful signs of a gathering revolt against the Bolsheviks. He supposed that ordinary Russians remained so thoroughly wedded to the Christian church that any "forcible closing of the churches would provoke a revolution which would destroy the Bolshevik power." The same applied to official Bolshevik attempts at re-educating the young into materialist, amoral world views. These simply were not taking hold, King concluded from his discussions with Russian students, and he supposed that ere long the "buoyant and resilient minds of the young" would beat a retreat back to the "ideals of the Christian faith." This is where King placed his ultimate hope, just as at home in America he placed it on education, moral exhortation, and anticommunist propagandizing. He

[45] William H. King, *Conditions in Russia: Speech of Hon. William H. King, a Senator from the State of Utah, Delivered in the Senate, January 22 and 24, 1924* (Washington, DC: USGPO, 1924), 124-27.

[46] "A Momentous Opportunity," *Deseret News*, April 12, 1922.

[47] Isaac Don Levine, *Eyewitness to History: Memoirs and Reflections of a Foreign Correspondent for Half a Century* (New York: Hawthorn Press, 1973), 86-88, 142-47.

[48] King, *Conditions in Russia*, 3, 8, 11-12, 21, 24, 27, 83-84.

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Major General William S. Graves, Commanding General Allied Expeditionary Force-Siberia, seated in the center with his staff at Vladivostok, November 23, 1918.

was ready to countenance trade relations only because he believed that the resultant influx of Westerners into Russia could "constitute a protection to the Russian people against Bolshevism oppression, and act as a liberalizing force."[49]

Senator King and his collaborators were successful in the 1920s to the extent that the United States did not offer diplomatic recognition to Soviet Russia. No internal uprising resulted in Russia, of course, though King continued to hope for one, but in other ways the terms of the Colby Note did hold all the way to the Great Depression. Not least was this so because men like King stepped in to reargue the case whenever pressure for policy revision mounted. On these grounds alone, King's legacy would, in fact, have been quite significant, would, that is, had President Franklin Roosevelt not decided in 1933 to single-handedly destroy the entire edifice that King and his allies had erected. Roosevelt set his mind on offering diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Union, which he did, shattering the very fundamentals of the heretofore-consensual Colby policies.

King tried, of course, to prevent the recognition. With the ranking Republican of the Foreign Relations Committee, his fellow-Utahn and LDS church member Reed Smoot, he took charge once again in the

[49] King, *Conditions in Russia*, 61-62, 75, 84, 109-110, 124.

Congress while his old ally John Spargo and the Dean of Georgetown University the Jesuit priest Edmund Walsh directed the extra-parliamentary operation. With Spargo as the principal link between the congressional and extra-parliamentary campaigners, these anticommunists launched an extensive propaganda and education campaign in the press. To buy more time for it to work, Spargo had King issue a call for a special congressional investigation into the technicalities of American-Soviet trade, into its likely volume and nature, the expected benefits to the American consumer and the political problems that would result from the arrival in America of Soviet trade representatives who might also be spies. Spargo and King's plan was to make sure that the congressional investigation recommended against recognition in the clearest possible terms, to keep up the public pressure and to have King apply personal pressure on the fellow-Democrat Roosevelt.[50]

None of this could, however, prevent President Roosevelt from signing an executive order on November 16, 1933, reestablishing diplomatic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Although the agreement between Roosevelt and the Soviet representatives that paved the way to this order included nominal guarantees of abstention from subversion in America and from religious persecution of Americans in Russia, on the whole it amounted to the worst possible outcome when viewed from King's vantage point. King did linger on in the Senate for seven more years, a passionate critic of President Roosevelt and his New Deal policies, but his influence on policy was practically nil. He lost his seat in the Senate in the 1940 elections, a victim to a concerted campaign by Roosevelt's supporters who agreed with the new Russia policies and with the New Deal. Nine years later, King died, a largely forgotten man whose crucial role in sustaining American anticommunism was not recognized even by the new generation of Cold War warriors that was just starting on its campaign for liberation and roll-back.

What might have happened had Senator King's proposals for a major military intervention been taken up in 1918 or 1919 will always remain a mystery. But it was not, in fact, unreasonable for him to suppose, as he did at the time, that even a modest application of American military force, if coordinated with like force by others, could have destroyed the Bolshevik regime in its cradle. When that could not be arranged, King and his allies settled on the more limited program of countersubversion, anticommunist education and social reform at home and of containment, nonintercourse, and moral disapprobation of Communism abroad that was codified in the Colby Note. This program, too, owed to their insistence on making American anticommunist policy as comprehensive as possible, and as such it contrasted rather sharply with the trade and constructive engagement

[50] John Spargo to Boris Bakhmeteff, March 6, 1933, and n.d. [five letters], Bakhmeteff Papers, BAR 94-2059; John Spargo, "Information Wanted About Soviet Russia," *New York Times*, March 8, 1933, 3E.

option of Senators Johnson, France, and LaFollette and with President Wilson's own, more passive preference for "watchful waiting" and covert action. Either of these alternatives might have become American policy long before 1933 had it not been for the untiring counter-campaigning of Senator King and his allies.

King, therefore, should be recognized as a central figure in the creation of that set of anticommunist policies that did inform the American encounter with Soviet Russia from 1917 to 1933. In the conditions of the twenty-first century's war on terror, his calls for an even more comprehensive, force-based policy should also strike a chord among those who, combining military force, countersubversion, and international social reform, actually follow in his footsteps, little though they know about his and his allies' forgotten campaign of more than eighty years ago.

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Utah State Agricultural College as the "West Point of the West": The Leadership of E. G. Peterson

By JEFFERY S. BATEMAN

Even today, the photograph is striking. Row upon row of students in military uniform nearly fill the large outdoor field referred to on campus as the "Quad" (quadrangle) at the Utah State Agricultural College (USAC). It is May 1950, and USAC's Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) is at its zenith with nearly 2,200 cadets represented in the neat rows of a military formation.

Large ROTC units were not unusual at the onset of the Cold War, but many of the students in the photograph remember this period as special, when USAC's ROTC program was so large and so successful that the program earned the nickname "West Point of the West."[1] More than fifty years after graduation, former cadets remember fondly and proudly their participation in this extraordinary military training program. These former cadets uniformly credit their Professor of Military Science and Tactics, Colonel E.W. Timberlake, for the remarkable size and quality of USAC's ROTC program. This paper argues, however, that the single most important person in the program's long term success was the university's president, E.G. Peterson.

ROTC B Company in formation on the lawn south of Old Main at Utah State Agricultural College in the winter of 1920.

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[1] The term "West Point of the West" first appears in a May 1950 brochure produced by the Department of Military Science during Colonel E.W. Timberlake's tenure. He is most likely the originator of the term.

Peterson served as college president from 1916—the year ROTC was established at USAC—to the end of World War II, retiring the year before Colonel Timberlake arrived at USAC. A review of Peterson's involvement in military training and ROTC during his twenty-nine-year tenure as USAC president clearly shows an unceasing effort to establish, improve, and increase military training on the USAC campus. While ROTC students remember the colorful Colonel E. W. Timberlake's remarkable four-year tour as ROTC commandant, the historical record reveals E.G. Peterson's earlier contributions that enabled Col. Timberlake to recruit and train so many ROTC cadets. Former cadets from the period know of Peterson, but few speak of his contributions, many of which were behind the scenes. It was during Peterson's administration that facilities were built to support military training. It was President Peterson who created tremendous faculty support that was necessary for such a military training program. Essentially, one must know what legacy Peterson left for Timberlake if one is to appreciate who really created the "West Point of the West." It is to this effort that this paper now turns.

Peterson's extensive presidential papers provide a unique look at how one university president seized opportunity, coped with world wars, and supported military training on campus.

The federal Morrill (or Land-Grant) Act of 1862—which offered land to support colleges such as the Utah State Agricultural College (now Utah State University), established in 1888—required military training as part of the colleges' curriculum.[2] Colleges conducted this training with minimal support from the War Department, often designing their own uniforms and detailing Civil War veteran faculty members to conduct drill. Peterson himself was a product of that uneven experience while a student at USAC, where he graduated in 1904.

The War Department's initial lack of enthusiasm for military training on college campuses did not deter it from sending inspectors to the colleges each year to check for compliance with the Morrill Act. Captain T. Ross of the Army General Staff inspected USAC in April 1916 and was not complimentary in his findings. "The institution lacks discipline and firm management . . ." he reported and further noted problems such as dirty uniforms and weapons. Worst of all, he cited John A. Widtsoe, university president, for his lack of support for military training at the college. Captain Ross recommended one year of continuance for the program in the hopes that incoming president E. G. Peterson would improve the program.[3]

E.G. Peterson was installed as president of the Utah State Agricultural

[2] *An Act Donating Public Lands to the Several States and Territories Which May Provide Colleges for the Benefit of Agriculture and the Mechanical Arts,* House of Representatives, Chapter CXXX, 37th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1862, ch. 130.

[3] Captain T. Ross, General Staff, Inspection Report, TDS, April 22, 1916, Presidential Papers of E. G. Peterson, 3.1/6.2, Special Collections & Archives, Merrill Library, Utah State University, Logan. Unless otherwise noted, all correspondence and reports are from this collection.

Elmer George Peterson, president of the Utah State Agricultural College from 1916-1945. Painting by Everett Thorpe.

College in 1916, fortuitously the same year the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) was established as a formal program by the National Defense Act of 1916.[4] The act formalized what had been a collection of ad hoc military training programs into one controlled more directly by the War Department, staffed with active-duty instructors, with standardized uniforms and equipment. Peterson immediately applied for an ROTC unit, and made a personal visit to the War Department to lobby for the ROTC unit.[5] Peterson as president appreciated the value of military training for students, as well as the benefits to be derived from a federally supported ROTC program. The requirement to conduct military training at land-grant colleges did not guarantee that they would receive an ROTC unit. Many today associate "land-grant" with ROTC, confusing the Morrill Act with the National Defense Act of 1916. The former required military training; the latter created the ROTC program to be housed on college and university campuses. This distinction is critical to appreciate the importance of Peterson's early effort to establish a ROTC program at USAC.

Elsewhere in the state, students at the University of Utah asked its president, John A. Widtsoe, in 1917 to establish a ROTC program on their campus located east of Salt Lake City. Two years later, a ROTC program was established at the University of Utah as an elective program.[6]

Within a month of his application for a ROTC program for the college, Peterson's efforts were rewarded. On December 21, 1916, an infantry ROTC unit was organized on campus.[7] Peterson used college funds to equip his student/soldiers from uniforms to bugles.[8] Captain Stephen Abbott, who had been assigned by the War Department to conduct military training on campus prior to the establishment of the ROTC program, was assigned to be the first ROTC Professor of Military Science and Tactics at USAC.

Peterson was not satisfied with just having a ROTC unit on campus, but

[4] Elmer G. Peterson to the Adjutant General, United States Army, November 29, 1916.

[5] *Logan Republican,* November 30, 1916.

[6] Kenneth Francis Cravens, "ROTC at the University of Utah" (MS Thesis, University of Utah, 1958), 18.

[7] U.S. War Department, Bulletin 56/1916, December 21, 1916.

[8] Elmer G. Peterson, multiple letters to the Depot Quartermaster, Camp Douglas, Utah, December 1916.

wanted to expand the college's military training program. In 1917 Peterson asked for a military aviation program to be established on campus. The chief signal officer of the U.S. Army politely declined his request.[9] Peterson's interest in military aviation training on campus was prescient. Few in the War Department recognized the potential of aviation. Peterson was hardly done with aviation and other ideas for expansion however, nor was he one to take "no" for an answer. Peterson followed with a request for cavalry and mounted field artillery units, which were more aligned with USAC's agricultural orientation.

Two young men in uniform undergoing military radio training during World War I at the power panel for the Plotting Room in the basement of Old Main, Utah State Agricultural College, in 1918.

The expansion of military training Peterson had been working towards received propitious help from the War Department in the form of the Student Army Training Corps (SATC) program. The program was established in 1918 as a War Department-funded effort to conduct war related job skills and academic training on American colleges. The SATC also represented a national effort to keep men in school during the war; in fact it was developed in part as a response to the enlistment frenzy that drained many colleges of eligible students during the war. At USAC, nearly 40 percent of the prewar student body had enlisted, so Peterson used the SATC to help keep USAC functioning as an institution by replacing the enlistees with SATC trainees. The 684 students trained under the SATC program replaced the 750 enlistees from a prewar enrollment of two thousand students.[10] The wartime challenge at USAC then was two-fold—keep students in the classroom (a fully enrolled student

[9] Chief signal officer, War Department, Washington D.C., to Elmer G. Peterson, November 7, 1917.

[10] Biennial Report of the Board of Trustees of the Agricultural College of Utah for the Years 1918-1919, Special Collections and Archives, Merrill Library, Utah State University, Logan.

body means fully employed faculty) and secure federal funds for capital improvements and operating expenses.

The SATC was a short duration program as it expired much earlier than some had expected when World War I ended. It was, nonetheless, a very profitable program for the college. Peterson and his staff compiled a Statement of Claim for Cost Reimbursement in April 1918 for submission to the War Department that totaled nearly $190,000 for training costs associated with the SATC program at the Logan school.[11]

USAC Secretary/Treasurer John L. Coburn compared the federal money received for SATC with the costs of building new barracks. These "temporary" brick buildings were so designed to eventually become the Irrigation Engineering, the Plant Industry, and the Animal Science buildings.[12] Peterson with his long-range view of the college recognized the importance of military training for securing federal funds, which were then used for long-term capital improvements.

Peterson intended these "temporary barracks" to eventually be used as classrooms, nearly doubling classroom space on campus. His wife, Phoebe Nebeker Peterson, remembered President Peterson agonizing over the decision to use bricks rather than wood for the "temporary barracks." The standard construction material authorized by the War Department was wood. Brick was considerably more expensive, so much so that it would leave the interior of the building essentially empty unless the state legislature funded extra money to complete the buildings.[13] It was a huge gamble Peterson made, and yet it worked. The state legislature funded classrooms, equipment, laboratories, and lecture halls in the buildings.[14]

Peterson referred to the military training at USAC during SATC as "a second edition of West Point," and "a veritable West Point" in an article touting USAC's wartime accomplishments.[15] Peterson's vision for creating the "West Point of the West" came more than twenty-five years before Timberlake's arrival on campus.

It would be too simplistic to conclude that his motives to support military training were primarily financial. Other evidence suggests that patriotism and a sense of duty were also important. Peterson wrote the Committee of Public Information to explain how the college could help war service work. He suggested that faculty would make visits to summer camps to clarify national war aims, write letters to discourage the enlistment frenzy of students, and correspond with students who were now soldiers in the United States and overseas.[16]

[11] Statement of Claim for Cost Reimbursement, April 17, 1918.

[12] John L. Coburn to E.G. Peterson, May 23, 1918.

[13] Mrs. E.G. Peterson, *Remembering E.G. Peterson: His Life and Our Story* (Logan: Old Main Society, 1974), 31.

[14] Ibid., 37.

[15] *Logan Journal*, August 31, 1918.

[16] E.G. Peterson to Committee on Public Information, June 6, 1918.

Members of the Student Army Training Corps seated for Thanksgiving Dinner, 1918 in the Mechanical Arts Building.

Even as World War I and the SATC program ended, Peterson immediately began looking to the future of military training and re-establish the Reserve Office Training Corps on campus. (ROTC had been suspended during the war and had been replaced by the SATC program.) Much of Peterson's plans for military training came from a report prepared by the Committee on Military Education at Colleges and Universities. The report described military curriculum used at the University of Washington, one of the original and successful ROTC programs. The University of Washington's military training program mirrored the curriculum of the service academies as well as training in aviation.[17] Peterson, over time, would attempt to replicate many elements of the University of Washington's ROTC program.

Peterson, beginning in 1919, worked to reestablish and develop military training on campus. He wanted USAC to host a coast artillery unit as well as the existing infantry unit.[18] His effort was successful as the college was awarded a coast artillery unit that same year. His next effort was to form a Committee on the Military Situation, an ad hoc committee to draft recommendations for starting ROTC again in the fall of 1919. Peterson was anxious to define how the reestablished program would function within the peacetime curriculum.[19]

The following spring Peterson began a campaign to locate regional ROTC summer camps at USAC. His goal was to establish USAC as a regional training center, which he called the "Training Camp of the West," arguing that USAC's experience with SATC qualified the college to handle trainees in large numbers.[20] He then persuaded the state legislature to pass a resolution designating USAC as a permanent site for ROTC summer train-

[17] Henry Suzallo, Report of Committee on Military Education in Colleges and Universities, 1918.
[18] E.G. Peterson to Captain Stephen Abbott, professor, Military Science and Tactics, January 24, 1919.
[19] Committee on Military Situation Report to E.G. Peterson, February 27, 1919.
[20] *Logan Journal,* April 19, 1919.

ing.[21] Initially, he also received an encouraging reply from the War Department endorsing his effort to establish USAC as a regional center for summer training.[22] Unfortunately, the War Department, while politely thanking Peterson for his efforts, rejected his application without explanation.[23]

Even as Peterson sought new roles for military training on campus, his existing ROTC unit was struggling with enrollment. Major R.P. Hartle, who had replaced Captain Abbott, notified Peterson in April 1921 that the level of senior enrollment in the infantry unit at USAC was below the minimum established by the War Department.[24] There were not enough juniors and seniors enrolled in the last two voluntary years of the ROTC program to maintain a viable program. The warning may have been too late, as the War Department pulled the infantry unit in June, leaving the coast artillery branch intact.[25] Concerned with the loss of the infantry unit, Peterson asked Hartle's replacement, Major Alexander C. Sullivan, how to improve the ROTC program. Sullivan offered several suggestions: make drill more interesting, recognize the best-drilled platoon at the annual military ball, organize interplatoon athletics, and encourage students to join the ROTC fraternity, Scabbard and Blade.[26] Sullivan proved a man of action as well as ideas. He eventually implemented every one of the suggestions he made to Peterson during his tenure as Professor of Military Science and Tactics.

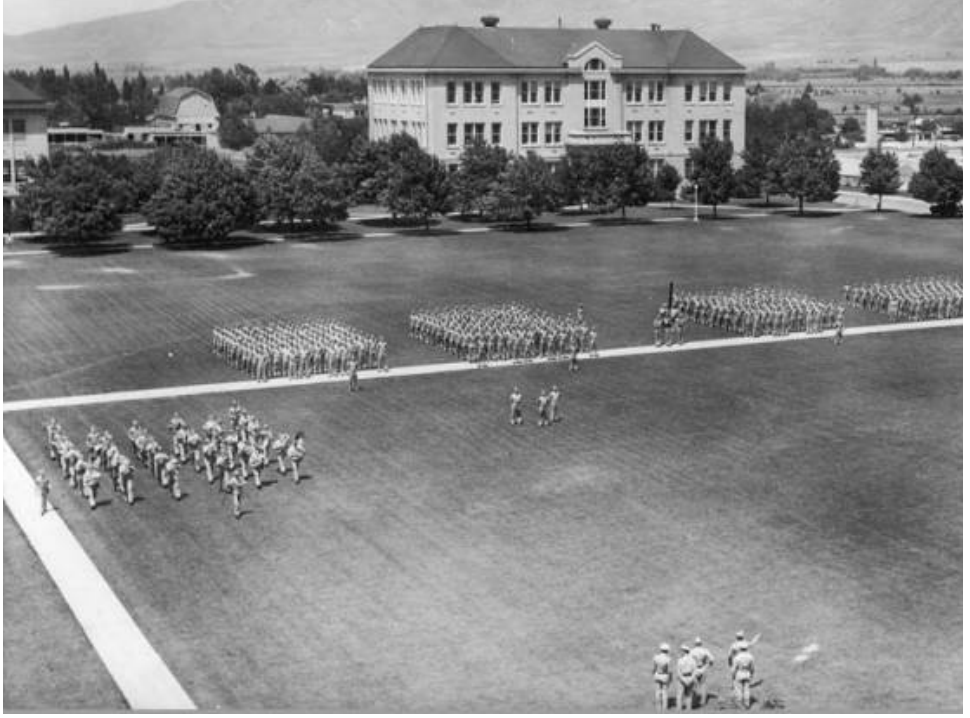
Peterson, for his part, displayed a growing sophistication with military matters. Concerned with the quality of the military staff, he requested that only experienced noncommissioned officers be assigned to USAC as support personnel.[27]

The years from 1925 to1933 were relatively quiet years for Peterson, at least regarding military training. During these years and at the outset of the Great Depression Peterson turned his attention more towards supporting educational programs for farmers and ranchers and teaching home economics, subjects suited to the mission of a land-grant college.

Keeping in mind the importance of military training and education, President Peterson began in 1934 a sustained effort to improve the physical training facilities on campus, as well as renewing his long term plans to develop a viable military training program. He demonstrated increased political skill leveraging political advantage nationally as well as dealing more successfully with the military bureaucracy.

In January 1934 Peterson became involved with other colleges to encourage federal funding for new ROTC facilities. Locally, he sought

[21] Utah House of Representatives, Joint Resolution No. 8, 1919.
[22] War Department to E.G. Peterson, April 3, 1919.
[23] War Department to E.G. Peterson, April 5, 1919.
[24] Major R.P. Hartle to E.G. Peterson, April 4, 1921.
[25] War Department, Washington D.C., to E.G. Peterson, June 30, 1921.
[26] Major Alexander C. Sullivan, to E.G. Peterson, n.d.
[27] E.G. Peterson to 9th Corps Headquarters, Presidio of Monterrey, California, October 22, 1921.



Military parade on the Utah State Agricultural College Quad in June 1943.

support from P.H. Mulcahy of the Ogden Chamber of Commerce for a military science building at USAC.[28] He solicited help from Utah Congressman Abe Murdock, outlining his reasons for a new ROTC building at the college. Peterson noted employment opportunities the project would provide for skilled laborers, and the fact that the Military Science Department badly needed indoor training and classroom space as well as storage space for weapons. He pointed to the possibility that a newly built facility would position the college as a regional military training center. "The last war found us totally unprepared in this regard."[29]

Peterson also wrote Utah Governor Henry H. Blood, asking for his help in lobbying the House Appropriations Committee Chair, James P. Buchanan, for funds for a new military science building.[30] Governor Blood was certainly familiar with the USAC ROTC program since he had been the featured guest of honor each year at the college's annual military ball. To make certain Representative Buchanan was aware of the need for a new building at USAC, Peterson personally contacted the congressman's office, reiterating the urgent need for ROTC facilities to train reserve officers and USAC's potential as a regional training center.[31]

Peterson was successful securing funds for the building. Bids for constructing the building were opened in 1938 and the building was completed in 1940, just a year after Hitler's invasion of Poland and the outbreak of World War II.[32]

As the building was being completed, Peterson in June 1940 appointed a

[28] E.G. Peterson to P.H. Mulcahy, Ogden Utah Chamber of Commerce, January 23, 1934.
[29] E.G. Peterson to U. S. Congressman Abe Murdock, February 19, 1934.
[30] E.G. Peterson to Governor Henry H. Blood, May 26, 1934.
[31] E.G. Peterson to James P. Buchanan, May 26, 1934.
[32] *Logan Herald-Journal*, September 9, 1938. The building is still used for ROTC training.

committee of faculty to examine the potential of academic courses related to national defense. He believed that these new courses would add two thousand students to the school year enrollment as well as three hundred thousand dollars from the War Department to support the military program.[33]

Peterson through his long-range planning ably prepared the college for opportunities as well as challenges the threat of war might bring. For example, Peterson's early commitment to the Civilian Pilot Training Program, conducted under the auspices of the Civilian Aeronautics Administration (CAA), positioned USAC to become a center for training World War II aviators. Major Malcolm J. Buchanan, board president of a traveling military air corps team that selected candidates for military aviation training called USAC "aviation minded," and "one of the best CAA units I have seen."[34] The aviation program, under the direction of professor S.R. Stock, consisted of ground training on campus, followed by introductory flight screening at the Logan-Cache Airport. Stock credited E.G. Peterson supporting the program.[35]

By January 1941, Utah State Agricultural College was busy training soldiers in a variety of skills. The courses being taught were not part of a formal program but were generically referred to as "National Defense Trades Courses" that included skills related to aircraft and aircraft engine repair, communications, automotive mechanics, and more traditional skills such as blacksmithing, machine shop, and pattern making. So heavy was the demand for this kind of training that the college put these training courses on a twenty-four-hour schedule with three shifts of trainees in every classroom/shop every day.[36]

Just weeks before the attack on Pearl Harbor, Peterson articulated publicly his philosophy regarding the college's participation in the war effort. "Our first duty, of course, is to strengthen the defense preparations of our country." He also made clear that normal college training would continue, and he encouraged students "not to neglect broad and deep training for chosen work."[37] This was the first of many admonitions on his part that demonstrate his determination to keep some semblance of normal college training running at USAC, even as he worked to maintain and even increase a robust military training program.

In order better to control the many ongoing defense-related programs, Peterson put USAC on a wartime footing following the attack on Pearl Harbor. Trainees soon began arriving in large numbers. Among other training programs, USAC was awarded a contract to train naval radio students, three hundred at a time, for a total of twelve hundred students per year. With the contract came twenty thousand dollars to ensure housing and

[33] E.G. Peterson to National Defense Course Committee, USAC, June 11, 1940.
[34] *Logan Herald-Journal*, January 10, 1941.
[35] Ibid., February 5, 1941. Stock later became a Commander in the United States Navy.
[36] *Logan Herald-Journal*, January 31, 1941.
[37] Ibid., October 14, 1941.

A military ball at Utah State Agricultural College in 1920.

training facilities were available. But even as Peterson enthusiastically accepted these trainees, he emphasized that regular academic courses were to be strengthened and that as land-grant colleges adjusted to the war effort, these efforts "must not hamper regular academic programs."[38]

Even as Peterson encouraged the continuation of regular academic program, the army announced its new Enlisted Reserve Plan. It was similar to the earlier Student Army Training Corps of World War I. Selected students were deferred from war service as long as they stayed in school and received good grades. USAC's quota for this program was significant: 425 army and 425 navy student allocations. The program was fully implemented by August 1942.[39]

That same month, Peterson announced the creation of a military science major and that classes in this major would be offered in the fall.[40] Peterson realized that the post-war military would be much larger than the prewar military, and that the opportunities for postwar military training would be much greater than after World War I.

Meanwhile, the War Department announced plans to replace the Enlisted Training Corps with a new program, the Army Specialized Training Program (ASTP). The War Department specifically discouraged any lobbying efforts by colleges to establish the program on their campuses.[41] This did not deter Peterson from traveling to Washington D.C.

[38] "College President Cites Role of Higher Education in War," *Logan Herald-Journal*, June 24, 1942.
[39] Ibid., July 27, 1942.
[40] Ibid., August 26, 1942.
[41] Ibid., December 17, 1942.

A military aircraft in flight over Cache Valley during the 1940s when the Utah State Agricultural College provided aviation training to the Army Air Corps during World War II.

anyway. Within a month, he announced that USAC would host between seven hundred and one thousand men, taking courses in engineering, physics, chemistry, mathematics, and public health, as well as mechanical training.[42]

Peterson's unwanted trip to Washington, D. C. paid off. Chief of the Air Staff General George E. Stratemeyer proposed filling USAC's ASTP quota with one thousand army air force students.[43] Despite the many challenges associated with another thousand trainees, Peterson accepted Stratemeyer's request.[44] Peterson noted that hosting ASTP with its mainly academic emphasis would maintain the college's prewar faculty levels, using existing faculty to teach these new military students. Further, he anticipated the new military training program would generate an additional one hundred thousand dollars a month for the college.[45] Further, Peterson estimated the annual income to the city of Logan from this new program would be $3,147,600 per year.[46]

By March 1943, USAC faculty were teaching 1,912 trainees from every branch of the service and civilians. Military training at USAC had become big business. Peterson further noted, "The war has driven the college to

[42] Ibid., February 10, 1943.
[43] General George E. Stratemeyer, Washington D.C., to E.G. Peterson, January 9, 1943.
[44] E.G. Peterson to General Stratemeyer, January 10, 1943.
[45] *Logan Herald-Journal*, February 10, 1943.
[46] Ibid., March 16, 1943.

implement itself to aid the nation in its struggle for survival," and that the college was truly "full from cellar to garret."[47] Yet, there would be much work in the transition to a peacetime academic environment.

By 1944 the need for wartime defense training of the type provided at USAC was diminishing. The air corps abruptly terminated its one-year old contract with USAC in January 1944, without explanation.[48] As combat intensified in the Pacific Theater and the allies readied for the invasion of France, the War Department determined to send most of the ASTP students to line units hoping these college trained students would "raise combat efficiency with intelligence and leadership."[49] The following month the ASTP was dramatically reduced, with only a few specialized students remaining on campus.

Colonel F. W. Timberlake, Professor of Military Science and Tactics at Utah State Agricultural College.

In July 1944, USAC completed the last defense-related training for World War II. All together, 11,722 men and women received training in "war work," including radio trainees, civilian pilots, army air corps and navy pilots, as well as ASTP cadets.[50]

Even as defense training on campus was no longer needed, Peterson was planning for the postwar years. In January 1944, Peterson met with Brigadier General Frank L. Hines, recently appointed chief of the Veterans Bureau and a USAC alumnus. At the meeting with General Hines, Peterson learned of the educational opportunity being planned for every ex-serviceman.[51] Shortly after his return to Logan, USAC was awarded a contract to train disabled veterans.[52]

Even with these new opportunities to educate returning war veterans, Peterson still believed that military training had a place on campus. A few months before his retirement in 1945, Peterson received a letter from General George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff, United States Army, asking support for a much larger university-based ROTC program than that which was on college campuses prior to the war.[53] General Marshall was obviously sold on the wartime efforts of American colleges to train and educate

[47] Ibid., April 24, 1943.
[48] War Department, Washington D.C., to E.G. Peterson, January 31, 1944.
[49] *Logan Herald-Journal*, February 25, 1944.
[50] Ibid., July 29, 1944.
[51] Ibid., January 19, 1944.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid., April 12, 1945.

Military Officers and civilian authorities during a military inspection and review at Utah State Agricultural College about 1950.

commissioned officers for the military services. Marshall believed, "without these officers the rapid expansion of our Army . . . would have been impossible."[54]

Colonel E.W. Timberlake could hardly have walked into an environment more favorable to recruiting large numbers of ROTC cadets when he arrived on campus in 1946. President Peterson over the years had gained tremendous support from the federal government, constructed physical facilities to train several thousand students, and fostered a university community supportive of the military.

Still, Timberlake started with just thirty-four ROTC cadets for the 1946/47 school year. While national enrollment data are not available, solid anecdotal evidence suggests that Timberlake built an exceptionally large and high quality program compared to other institutions. By 1948 USAC hosted ROTC training for the air corps, quartermaster corps, and the coast artillery. That summer, of the 335 cadets from six western states who attended the air corps summer camp, 117 were from USAC. Of the 640 cadets from twenty-six states who attended the quartermaster camp, 101 were from USAC.[55]

The ROTC program at USAC was clearly the largest in Utah, peaking at 2,200 cadets for the 1949-1950 school year. USAC dwarfed its nearest competitor. The University of Utah had 572 cadets enrolled in the naval, army, and air force ROTC programs that same year.[56] This speaks highly of Timberlake's personal success at attracting students into the ROTC program at USAC.

In addition to large enrollments, Timberlake's program qualitatively was

[54] Michael S. Neiberg, *Making Citizen-Soldiers: ROTC and the Idealogy of American Military Service,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000).

[55] *Logan Herald-Journal,* June 26, 1948.

[56] Cravens, "ROTC at the University of Utah," 29.

Students in a Military Science class at Utah State Agricultural College in 1953.

among the nation's best. During the summer of 1949, Timberlake's cadets earned a remarkable thirty-four of fifty honor graduate awards given at three different camps across the country.[57]

Based on these achievements, it is not surprising that former cadets credit Timberlake with creating the "West Point of the West." During their time as students, he was a larger than life persona who dominated their college experience. Timberlake was very successful building the postwar ROTC program to its fullest potential.

It was President E.G. Peterson, however, who established a solid tradition of a military training program on campus. He was a visionary leader, remembered as the man who took a small "cow college" and built it into a respectable college. In the specific case of military training, his initiatives to develop ROTC on campus showed a remarkable degree of perseverance and prescience. Well before Brigadier General Billy Mitchell argued for the value of airpower, Peterson asked the War Department to establish an aviation unit at USAC. His early interest in aviation was profoundly influential in establishing USAC as a western center for aviation training prior to and during World War II.

In establishing a "virtual West Point," he helped the college survive during difficult economic times and low enrollments.

Colonel Timberlake deserves due credit for creating one of the largest and most successful college ROTC programs in America. It was, however, President E. G. Peterson who laid the foundation for the "West Point of the West."

[57] E. W. Timberlake to F. S. Harris, TLS, August 9, 1949, Presidential Papers of F. S. Harris, Special Collections and Archives, Merrill-Cazier Library, Utah State University, Logan.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Mormon Vanguard Brigade of 1847 Norton Jacob's Record. Edited by Ronald O. Barney (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2005. x + 398 pp. Cloth, $44.95; paper, $22.95.)

CONVERTED TO MORMONISM in 1841, Norton Jacob was involved through the rest of his life in many important church and community activities, and experienced most of the hardships related to the Mormon experience. He is practically unknown to students of Mormon history, however, even though historians have made frequent use of his journal in their treatment of the westward migration of 1846–47. He was one of those hardy pioneers who, though generally unsung, were the backbone of Mormonism. As Ronald Barney says in his introduction to *The Mormon Vanguard Brigade of 1847*, "Jacob represents that visibly under-represented class of Saints whose calloused hands, sun-burned necks, modest expectations, and quiet voices are too frequently obscured and who have been, for the most part, relegated to a lack of importance inordinately disproportional to their significance"(3).

The bulk of Norton Jacob's record consists of his 1847 journal entries, when he was a member of the vanguard company that left Winter Quarters to find the site for the new Mormon gathering place in the Great Basin and was designated a "captain of ten." The record also includes a sketchy reminiscence of his early life and a few journal entries for other years, especially 1846. Such primary sources provide the "stuff" from which history is written, but for those who enjoy studying these sources for their own sake Jacob's journals promise a delightful experience. Among other things, they provide details about the vanguard expedition that are not always found in other sources. More importantly, they also give insight into the mind and thought of an ordinary Latter-day Saint as he struggled to fulfill what he considered to be his sacred obligations. His righteous indignation, for example, is demonstrated in several entries, such as his curt reference to the United States government on July 4, 1847: "This is uncle Sam's day of Independence. well, we are independent of all the powers of the Gentiles. that's enough for me" (195). At the same time his deeply religious nature is seen in such things as his comment after he and his wife received their sacred washings and anointings in the Nauvoo Temple: "it was the most interesting Scene of all my life & one that afforded the most Peace & Joy that wee had ever experienced since wee were Married" (60) or his looking to Heber C. Kimball, an apostle, as "my Spiritual Father in the Church" (77). The journal also reveals his strong sense of mission—a providential view of what the vanguard company was all about. "I left my family and started out on the great expedition with the Pioneers to the West" (98), he wrote on April 7, and eight days later he noted that they "all kneeled down when Br Brigham [Young] addressed the Lord by Prayer & dedicated the mission and all wee have to the Lord God of Israel" (104).

Jacob's journal entries are not as lengthy as those of more well known diarists, but at times they provide some significant details that others hardly allude to. On May 4, for example, there was a morning meeting at which Brigham Young gave instructions, but William Clayton said practically nothing about them. Jacob, on the other hand, recorded them in some detail. Each member of the company must be vigilant, Young said, and "seek his neibors welfare as much as his own." The whole church, in fact, must act that way, and "not a man would find admitance into the Kingdom of God who did not act upon this principle" (125-26). He also enjoined them against negligence and idleness, and said that anyone who violated the rules of the camp must be punished. The journal also provides insight into what it meant to be a "captain of ten" in the vanguard company. Jacob frequently recorded various instructions he received and what his ten (including himself) were doing on particular days or nights, such as standing guard as a group, or taking their turn at cooking.

Ronald O. Barney has shown consummate skill as an editor, and his extensive footnotes furnish numerous important details and explanations. In addition, he has provided, at the end, biographical notes on each person who appears in Jacob's record—a contribution not often seen in publications like this. One minor error, however, is the reference to James S. Brown. The person Barney describes, and who actually appears in the book, is really Captain James Brown (no middle initial) of the Mormon Battalion—an uncle of James S. Brown. But this aside, Barney must be commended for his fine work in bringing Norton Jacob out of historical obscurity.

JAMES B. ALLEN
Brigham Young University

No Place to Call Home: The 1807-1857 Life Writings of Caroline Barnes Crosby, Chronicler of Outlying Mormon Communities. Edited by Leo Lyman, Susan Ward Payne, and S. George Ellsworth. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2005. xviii + 574 pp. Cloth, $29.95.)

NO PLACE TO CALL HOME is an appropriate title for Caroline Barnes Crosby's journal. On November 26, 1853, she wrote: "It is 19 years today since we were married. Little did I think then that I should be such a traveller, having never been more than half a dozen times out of town, and never out of the province since we arrived there"(214). Caroline was born in Warwick, Massachusetts, in 1807. Her father later moved his family to East Canada in the hopes of improving the family's finances. In October 1834, at the age of twenty-seven, she married her first cousin, Jonathan Crosby, and in 1836 their only child, Alma, was born. At the time of their marriage Jonathan was a member of the

Mormon church and Caroline later converted to Mormonism as well. Their marriage started Caroline on a life adventure that she most likely never anticipated.

Caroline and Jonathan joined the Mormons in Kirtland, Ohio, and on the way they stopped to visit with Caroline's sister and her husband—Addison and Louisa Barnes Pratt—who also joined the Mormon church. They eventually made their way to Kirtland and then on to Nauvoo, Illinois. While they were in Nauvoo Jonathan entered into a short plural marriage with one of their cousins Amelia Stevens. For whatever reasons the plural marriage dissolved and they went their separate ways. The family moved to Winter Quarters and later joined the emigration to the Great Salt Lake in June 1848. They only stayed in the valley until 1851 when Jonathan was called to the Tahitian mission that had been opened earlier by their brother-in-law Addison Pratt. After the mission closed, due to problems with the French officials, the Pratts sailed back to California where they stayed until 1857 when they returned to the Salt Lake Valley.

The importance of Caroline's journal cannot be over emphasized as it is a chronicle of daily life and activities during the mid-nineteenth century. She records the mundane from the daily washing, ironing, sewing and baking to untimely deaths. "Yesterday a very sad accident occured in the camp one of Sidney Tanner's little boys was killed almost instantly by a wagon wheel runing over him . . ." (77) to the death of a favorite pet, "this evening one of my favorite ducks died, probably from a blow received from some person. It was a present to us from Queen Pitomai, . . ." (145). She is not afraid to record her own emotions "I took the old accordien to try if possible to divert my mind from a threatning gloom to which it seemed inclined, and being overcome by weariness I soon found myself in the arms of morpheus, from which I was aroused by A[lma] playing the violin"(243).

Part of the family's problem was that it always seemed to be struggling financially. On June 26, 1855, she wrote that the only work her husband could find was haying—which he had not done for many years. "His face and neck were sunburnt, and upon the whole it gave me very disagreeable feelings to see him brought to such hard labor, at his time of life. I felt that I could weep for him, if it would be of any use, but knowing it would not, I did what I could to cheer, and comfort him" (326). On their twentieth anniversary she wrote: "And Oh what a variety of scenes have we passed through, since then, both merciful and afflictive. Travels by sea and land Sometimes in adversity, and at others in prosperity, but more frequently the former" (289). Another interesting aspect of her life is that it was very social. Almost daily she visited someone or was visited by someone, and she rarely turned down an invitation to go somewhere. On September 18, 1857, she wrote: " Bro Cox sent us word, that they were going for a pleasure ride to bro George Day's, and invited us to accompany them. We readily accepted the invitation, and made ourselves ready" (488).

She often records her experiences with other religions—mainly Catholicism

and spiritualism. One of the interesting encounters that she writes about is her 1852 experience with the "spirit rappers" while living in California. After an encounter with them she wrote: "Thus I have had an opportunity of proving the fallacy of the spiritual telegraph system. I was informed by that science that my mother was as still living, whereas she had been dead near one year" (178).

While this journal can somewhat stand alone, it would have been better if the authors had included a more complete identification of people that Caroline wrote about. It would also have helped to have footnotes at the bottom of the page instead of at the end, since it took away from the pleasure of reading the journal to keep turning back and forth. All in all, this is a very important journal and I commend the efforts of the authors and Utah State University Press for finally publishing Caroline's journal for our reading enjoyment.

LINDA THATCHER
Utah State Historical Society

The Bear River Massacre and the Making of History. By Kass Fleisher. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004. xvi + 348 pp. Cloth, $71.50; paper, $23.95.)

THE MOST CASUAL STUDENT of Western, Indian, Utah, and Mormon history will find this a difficult book to read, littered as it is with factual errors, mistakes, and misstatements.

In the eighty-two pages of Part I of the book alone, the author confuses Ute leader Walker with explorer Joseph Reddeford Walker (30). The Fancher party murdered at Mountain Meadows is wrongly said to have originated in Missouri, and the author incorrectly claims that Brigham Young blamed the Shoshone for the massacre and erroneously says that John D. Lee gave them the cattle stolen from the train (36-37). Joseph Smith, Jr., although known to be dead at the time, is said to have founded the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in 1852—likely a confused reference to the youngster Joseph Smith III. However, he did not found the church either, and did not even join it until 1860 (21). Equally incorrect are statements about The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, including fixing the date for lifting the priesthood ban against blacks in "the 1960s" rather than 1978, and a claim of worldwide church membership of twenty million (20, 27).

Geography, too, is terribly confused in a number of places in Part I. The author incorrectly locates the "brutality known to contemporary Mormons as the Haun's Mill Massacre" at Far West, Missouri (20). "The pioneers," she says of the advance party of Mormons approaching Salt Lake Valley in 1847, "cut through Echo Canyon, rather than attempt what would become known as Donner Mountain," an obvious confusion with Emigration Canyon and Donner Hill (22). Echo Canyon shows up again in faulty reports of the Utah War of 1857 as the place

Danites "destroyed Johnston's supply trains and stole one thousand head of cattle" —events which occurred more than 120 miles away (34). Promontory Point is mixed up with Promontory Summit as the site of the completion of the transcontinental railroad (69).

Beyond confusion, there's a brief paragraph near the end of Part I which reads, "In 1885, monogamous Mormons, the vast majority, split from polygynous Mormons" (74). Unless this momentous event has otherwise escaped the notice of history, the statement is cut from whole cloth.

But enough about mistakes. (There are others still in Part I of the book, and the remaining 240 pages of narrative are likewise liberally seasoned with errors of fact.) While such carelessness alone is reason enough to dismiss a "nonfiction" book from a scholarly press, it further serves to discount the credibility of an obviously confused author's claims and conclusions.

The remainder of the book is a rambling search for those conclusions that ultimately leads nowhere. Accounts of interviews with experts, reports of public meetings, the recounting of studies concerning the massacre, and other potentially informative material contribute to some interesting preliminary ideas about how and why such a major event as the Bear River Massacre faded into undeserved obscurity. That path, however, is a short one, overshadowed by the author's disjointed explorations of the rape of Shoshone women by soldiers. The author seems obsessed with that single aspect of the many atrocities committed at the winter camp on Beaver Creek, even hinting at a sinister conspiracy to prevent the incident's proper labeling as "The Bear River Massacre and Rape."

With all its 348 pages, the book does not add in any convincing way to our knowledge or understanding of the massacre, and falls far short of Brigham D. Madsen's account in *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre*. The slapdash treatment of facts in the book suggests perhaps a more appropriate title: The Bear River Massacre and the "Mistaking" of History.

ROD MILLER
Sandy, Utah

Along Navajo Trails: Recollections of a Trader, 1898-1948. By Will Evans, edited by Susan E. Woods and Robert S. McPherson. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2005. xvi + 264 pp. Cloth, $42.95; paper, $21.95.)

WELSH-BORN WILL EVANS hardly knew what to expect in December 1898 as he settled in for a cold lean winter in New Mexico's Sanostee Valley. He and two colleagues had just established a small trading post in Navajo country and left Evans alone and in charge. Just twenty-one years of age and without a long history in the southwest, Will anticipated his first Native American visitors with some trepidation. His account of the first Christmas among the Navajo is entertaining

and poignant, and the sweetness of that experience became a cherished memory that Evans shared often throughout his life. It also helped to establish in Will an interest in, and esteem for, these indigenous peoples with whom he would spend the next fifty years.

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, Evans engaged in a number of enterprises. He married and became father to four children and kept busy building and working in various trading posts. In 1917 he was able to purchase the Shiprock Trading Company, a well-established trading post on the reservation, and ran it successfully and creatively until his retirement from trading in 1948.

Will Evans, as a practicing member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, was representative of roughly 50 percent of the traders in the Four-Corners region who were Mormon. What set Evans apart from others was a compelling interest in Navajo history and culture—and in traditional Navajo spiritual teachings, which he enjoyed correlating with his own doctrinal beliefs. The deep understanding he came to have of many aspects of Navajo culture, traditions, and religious practice, were nevertheless understood through this Mormon filter. He earned the respect and trust of the Navajo and was allowed to witness and record ceremonies that were not open to outsiders.

In 1924 Evans began writing a manuscript he titled "Navajo Trails." Over the next thirty years, he witnessed and recorded in detail many events of significance in the region. He also became the unofficial biographer and photographer of many Navajo trading partners. There was much change during these decades as Navajo society responded to World War I; the influenza epidemic of 1918-1919; a devastating livestock reduction program in the 1930s; oil, gas, and uranium exploitation on tribal lands; and the influence of invasive government programs. Evans felt a great sense of urgency to record what was being lost. He wrote in 1938: "I must get real busy on the biographies of the older Indians who had much to do with shaping the destinies of the tribe. They are passing quickly and I must get the job done soon. . . . Soon, the material I have been fortunate enough to get will be well nigh impossible to obtain" (28). He was right, of course.

Evans divided his volume into three categories: The first offering documentation of important historical events; the second containing biographies of significant Navajos; and the third detailing customs, rituals, and beliefs as he witnessed them. Evans also documented sacred Navajo sand paintings and religious ceremonies. If he could be faulted, it was perhaps for a failure he shared with other Caucasians of his era to safeguard the sacred Navajo religious world he had become privy to. Instead, he encouraged Navajo weavers to include sacred designs and symbols in the rugs they made because they were more popular with customers.

It was Evans's desire that this history be published. His granddaughter, Susan E. Woods, took up the challenge, partnering with Robert S. McPherson to edit

Evans writings. Their careful work included the addition of an excellent introduction and biography of Evans, descriptive endnotes, and an index. These tools have allowed Evans to speak clearly, while helping the reader to have a larger context for understanding what is presented.

This volume has been further enhanced with a foreword by Charles S. Peterson, and the inclusion of superb photographs, both from the Evans family and from the Frank L. Noel collection at Brigham Young University. Although Will Evans could only speak of experiences among the Navajo from his worldview, he did speak. And his efforts are laudable. Through his work we can better understand the complexities of Mormon traders in the Navajo world. Even more importantly, Will Evans and his editors have allowed real people who lived in a nameless and voiceless time to be remembered and heard.

SCOTT R. CHRISTENSEN
LDS Church Archives

Navajo Nation Peacemaking: Living Traditional Justice. Edited by Marianne O. Nielsen and James W. Zion. (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2005, xi + 223 pp. Cloth, $35.00.)

FOR CENTURIES before imposition of Anglo-law by Anglo-Americans upon the Navajo People who traditionally and historically refer to themselves as the Diné or The People, had their own method of handling disputes. Although there is no historical text to provide details, the Navajo Nation judicial system has now adopted an ancient method of problem solving which handles conflicts ranging from criminal assault and spousal abuse to juvenile delinquency to property disputes.

Marianne Nielsen and James Zion have collected a multiple of articles and essays detailing the Peacemaking program adopted by the Navajo Nation Judicial Council and the Navajo Tribal Council in 1982. Nielsen and Zion detail a voluntary program whose final decisions (if embraced by all parties) are surrounded by the formal court system, including ultimate enforcement. They are to be commended for compiling an interesting history of the Peacemaking process, which is inapposite to Anglo-American concepts of force, authority, control, and condemnation.

Navajo Peacemaking is not a "vertical" pronouncement from a judge (who's Order is enforced by gun barrels and jail bars); rather the Peacemaking solution brings disputing parties together with family and community representatives and a "horizontal" resolution occurs by mutual consent (which Order is jointly crafted and enforced by cooperative acceptance).

Navajo Peacemaking relies upon the cultural antipathy to conflict, and a gener-

ally embraced yearning for harmony (hozhòòji). A person who is conflicted by inappropriate or antisocial or criminal behavior has lost personal harmony (hashk'éji) – and must be convinced by his victim, his family, and his community that he has lost harmony. A respected community leader (Naat'aanii) leads the meeting of the three groups who must reach an agreeable, mutually approved outcome which is voluntarily embraced by the three major participants the complaining party and family, the defendant and family, and the community, represented by respected leaders. Such outcomes must address restitution, if appropriate, and leaves all parties feeling that fairness has been achieved.

Navajo Peacemaking represents a method of restorative justice that respects the feelings and humanity of both the victim and the offender. The process begins with the conducting Naat'aanii utilizing prayer, traditional Navajo values, and community expectations to craft solutions. No decision can be imposed upon an unwilling party. One of the primary purposes of Peacemaking is to identify specific underlying problems leading to the disharmony and to develop a plan to combat the problems. Because punishment is not the primary goal of Peacemaking, recommendations that an offender serve jail time is a rare outcome. When a person misbehaves, criminally or socially, he is said to be acting "…as if he had no relatives." Family pressure, social pressure, and peer pressure can be wonderfully effective in assisting a person to see his disharmony and adopt a healthy relationship with the group.

Except for jurists and legal scholars, the general reading public will be hard pressed to find high drama within the pages of the volume. While the Navajo proponents of Peacemaking are justly proud of a unique method of dispute resolution, it seems that they suffer from a bit of cultural bi-polarity. They tout Peacemaking as an adoptable model for other systems and peoples, yet they then jealously guard the process of Peacemaking, asserting that it will only work with Navajos because they are the only ones with Navajo culture.

Some of the contributing authors appear to engage in a battle for legitimacy under an illegitimate banner of exclusive Navajo domain – a bit of reverse racism. That being said, I endorse the Peacemaking method as a way to improve the Anglo-American judiciary — by going back to the future.

HERM OLSEN
Logan, Utah

BOOK NOTICES

History of Biology at the University of Utah 1869-2000. By William H. Behle. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Publications and Printing Service, 2002. x + 455 pp. Cloth, $39.90.)

Professor William H. Behle's association with the study of biology at the University of Utah goes back to 1928 when he first attended the university. After completing undergraduate and graduate degrees in 1932 and 1933, Professor Behle joined the staff in 1937 retiring after a forty-year teaching career in 1977, but continuing an active post-retirement period as Professor Emeritus of Biology. This history is divided into five periods, four of which cover Behle's nearly seventy-five year involvement with the university. In addition to an interesting description of the evolution of biological studies and its accompanying academic/political intrigues, this valuable work includes professional histories of more than one hundred and fifty scientists, teachers, and researchers associated with the University of Utah biology program.

Recording Oral History: A Guide for the Humanities and Social Sciences, 2nd ed. By Valerie Raleigh Yow. (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2005. xvi + 398 pp. Cloth $75.00, paper $29.95.)

First published in 1994, *Recording Oral History* has served oral history practitioners for more than a decade as a highly readable and insightful guide to oral history. In addition to chapters on in depth interviews, interviewing techniques, legalities, and ethics, and preparing, organizing and carrying out different types of oral history projects, this second edition has new chapters on oral history and memory and analysis and interpretation—chapters that serious students of history will find informative. An expanded appendix includes sample guides, forms, and the Oral History Association's Evaluation Guidelines and Principles and Standards.

The Colorado Plateau II: Biophysical, Socioeconomic and Cultural Research. Edited by Charles van Riper III and David J. Mattson. (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2005. xii + 448 pp. Cloth $35.00.)

The twenty-nine selections by seventy-two scholars and scientists published in this volume are organized in four categories of resources—socioeconomic, biological, biophysical, and cultural. The papers were presented at the Seventh Biennial Conference of Research on the Colorado Plateau held in Flagstaff at Northern Arizona University. The scientific papers address a variety of topics from shifting patterns and regional disparities of the Colorado Plateau

economy to a discussion of methods used to determine watershed boundaries and area.

The Taos Trappers: The Fur Trade in the Far Southwest, 1540-1846. By David J. Weber. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005. xiii + 263 pp. Paper, $19.95.)

Since its publication in 1971, *The Taos Trappers* has remained the most comprehensive history of the fur trade in the American Southwest. From the village of Taos in Northern New Mexico, Mexican, French-Canadian, and American trappers pushed north into Colorado and Utah and west into Arizona and California. Antoine Robidoux and Etienne Provost were among the Taos trappers who left their mark on Utah and whose exploits are included in this volume. In his review of the book in the Summer 1972 issue of the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Ted J. Warner finds that "the importance of Taos as a center of the fur trade has now been placed in perspective by the author. Taos looms as important in its own right as does Fort Vancouver to the British and the Rocky Mountain Rendezvous and St. Louis to the Americans" (275). In reprinting *The Taos Trappers*, the University of Oklahoma Press has made available to a new generation of readers and scholars a study essential to understanding the American fur trade.

Rocky Mountain Rendezvous: A History of the Fur Trade Rendezvous 1825-1840. By Fred R. Gowans. (Layton: Gibbs Smith Publisher, 2005. 239 pp. Paper, $16.50.)

Between 1825 and 1840 sixteen fur trade rendezvous were held at various locations in the Intermountain West including Cache Valley in 1826 and the south end of Bear Lake in 1827 and 1828. The other rendezvous were held at locations near or on the Green River and Wind River Mountains in Wyoming and at Pierre's Hole on the west side of the Teton Mountains in Idaho. Chapters cover each of the sixteen rendezvous in this 2005 reprint of the 1976 book first published by Brigham Young University Press.

Gold Rush Saints: California Mormons and the Great Rush for Riches. By Kenneth N. Owens. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005. 396 pp. Paper, $19.95.)

Originally published by the Arthur H. Clark Company in 2004 and reviewed in the Summer 2005 issue of the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, this paperback edition is published by the University of Oklahoma Press.

Mormon Resistance: A Documentary Account of the Utah Expedition, 1857-1858. Edited by Leroy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen. (Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 2005. 375 pp. Paper, $29.95.)

Originally published in 1958 by the Arthur H. Clark Company and reviewed in the April 1959 of the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, this Bison Book reprint makes available once again an important collection of reports, proclamations, military orders and instructions, diaries, speeches, editorials, and correspondence relevant to the conflict between Utah Mormons and the federal government known as the Utah War. Originally published during the centennial commemoration of the conflict, this reprint issued on the eve of the Utah War sesquicentennial commemoration in 2007 and 2008 reveal the struggle for political control that marked a turning point in Utah's early history.

Camp Floyd and the Mormons: The Utah War, Rev. ed. By Donald R. Moorman with Gene A. Sessions. (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2005. xx + 332 pp. Paper, $19.95.)

Weber State University history professor Donald R. Moorman spent eighteen years researching and preparing this book for publication. After Moorman's sudden death in 1980 at the age of forty-nine, colleague and friend Gene A. Sessions completed the study which was first published in 1992 and reviewed in the Spring 1993 issue of the *Utah Historical Quarterly*. This important study of Utah during the 1850s offers a balanced and informative analysis of the decision to send a federal army in 1857 to put down an alleged Mormon rebellion in Utah, the march of that army and the difficulties and resistance it met in reaching Utah, and its three year occupation of Utah at Camp Floyd forty miles southwest of Salt Lake City.

The University of Utah Press has done students of Utah history a great favor with the release of this out-of-print book on the eve of the sesquicentennial commemoration of the Utah War. This edition contains a new introduction by Sessions that describes Moorman's research in the LDS Church Archives during the 1960s where he had free access to documents about the Mountain Meadows Massacre, assesses the significance of Moorman's work, and notes points on which the two colleagues disagree.

Seeing Yellowstone in 1871: Earliest Descriptions and Images from the Field. Edited by Marlene Deahl Merrill. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005. xiv + 85 pp. Paper, $19.95.)

In the summer of 1871 Ferdinand Hayden and his team carried out a government sponsored survey to access the geology and natural resources of the Yellowstone area. That survey provided the first systematic study of what became America's first National Park created by Congress on March 1, 1872. Among the survey members were artists Thomas Moran and Henry Wood Elliott, photographer William Henry Jackson, and geologist Albert Peale. This volume includes the first visual images of the Yellowstone area in reproductions of the photographs, sketches, and watercolor drawings produced during the survey, along with the text of four letters written by Peale describing the area and summarizing the activities of the survey team.

100 Years of Faith and Fervor: A History of the Greek Orthodox Church Community of Greater Salt Lake City, Utah 1905-2005. By Constantine J. Skedros. (Salt Lake City: The Greek Orthodox Church of Greater Salt Lake, 2005. xv + 159 pp. Cloth, $29.95.)

Published in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the Greek Orthodox Church in Utah, this volume offers an overview of the Greek community's experience in Utah during the twentieth century. Author Constantine J. Skedros, the son of Greek immigrants, began to collect information about the Greek Church, its leaders and members, after his return from military service during World War II. This history is a distillation of a more comprehensive history of the church that Skedros began compiling in 1947. The attractive book offers a good balance of history, oral history excerpts, documents, and photographs in commemorating and celebrating a hundred years of Greek life in Utah.

Zane Grey: His Life His Adventures His Women. By Thomas H. Pauly. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005. xi +385 pp. Cloth, $34.95.)

Throughout much of the twentieth century, Zane Grey was the most popular writer of western fiction in the United States. Between 1910 and his death in 1939, it is estimated that sales of his novels exceeded seventeen million copies. The most popular of these was *Riders of the Purple Sage* an anti-Mormon western set along the border of Utah and Arizona and published in

1912. Another novel, *The Rainbow Trail*, published in 1915, was inspired by his visit to Rainbow Bridge in southeastern Utah in 1913. He described rainbow bridge as "the one great natural phenomenon, the one grand spectacle which I had ever seen that did not at first give vague disappointment . . . this thing was glorious. It absolutely silenced me"(127). During the 1920s, Grey made three other trips to view the magnificent bridge. Author Thomas Pauly, professor of English at the University of Delaware, recounts the writings, adventures, and personal life of Zane Grey in this new biography.

Germans in the Southwest 1850-1920. By Tomas Jaehn. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005. xii +242 pp. Cloth, $24.95.)

German immigrants are not usually associated with New Mexico, but census records indicate that Germans made up the second largest European group in the state. This study offers a profile of German ethnicity in New Mexico and the preservation of German culture in the Hispanic and Anglo cultural environment in the region, considers the role of German immigrants in politics and economics, discusses the Hispanic Southwest in German literature, contrasts the German immigrant experience in New Mexico with the heavier concentrations of German immigrants in Texas and the Midwest, and concludes with an assessment of the treatment of Germans in New Mexico during World War I. The author, Tomas Jaehn, a native of Hamburg, Germany, is curator of library collections at the Angelico Chavez History Library at the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe.

Guarding the Overland Trails: The Eleventh Ohio Cavalry in the Civil War. By Robert Huhn Jones. (Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2005. 367 pp. Cloth, $31.50.)

Like the Third California Volunteers under the command of Patrick Edward Connor sent to Utah to guard the overland trail connecting the East with California, the Eleventh Ohio Cavalry was assigned to guard approximately seven hundred miles of the Oregon Trail between Scotts Bluff and South Pass, and two hundred miles of the Overland Trail from Fort Collins, Colorado, to Bridger's Pass—roughly half way between Fort Collins and Fort Bridger. The Ohio volunteers served for four years, from 1862 until the summer of 1866, and fought numerous skirmishes and battles with Native American warriors along the trails. Robert Huhn Jones, professor of history emeritus from the University of Akron, is the author of this twenty-fourth volume in Arthur H. Clark's Frontier Military Series.

The Rise of Mormonism. By Rodney Stark edited by Reid L. Neilson. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005. xi + 173 pp. Cloth, $39.50.)

In 1984 Rodney Stark, a non-Mormon Professor of Sociology at Baylor University, published an article projecting that within a century LDS membership would be at least 64 million and perhaps as high as 267 million. The article generated considerable discussion and debate. Stark writes, "I am absolutely astonished that two decades later it is the high estimate that best approximates what has taken place"(ix). The seven essays in this volume outline Stark's methodology, compares LDS growth with other faiths and religions, and, in the next to last essay, "The Basis of Mormon Success," offers ten propositions to explain why Mormonism continues to flourish.

The White Indian Boy and Its Sequel The Return of the White Indian. By Elijah Nicholas Wilson and Charles A. Wilson, foreword by John J Stewart. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005. xxi + 394. Paper, $19.95.)

As a young teenager, Elijah Nicholas "Uncle Nick" Wilson ran away to live with the Shoshone. In the later years of his life, he rode for the Pony Express and helped to settle Jackson Hole, Wyoming. The town Wilson, Wyoming, is named for him. *The White Indian Boy*, originally published in 1910 by Wilson himself, narrates his life with and after the Indians. Written by someone who had never attended school, the book quickly became both a classic and popular western tale. It compelled Wilson's son Charles to write its sequel, *The Return of the White Indian*, which tells Wilson's later life and adventures from where the first memoir ends in 1895. This new edition brings Nick Wilson's entire life into one complete volume with an accompanying family tree and a new introduction by John J. Stewart, and together, the accounts recreate the events of early Utah settlement from the perspective of someone who lived through them.

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY FELLOWS

THOMAS G. ALEXANDER
JAMES B. ALLEN
LEONARD J. ARRINGTON (1917-1999)
MAUREEN URSENBACH BEECHER
FAWN M. BRODIE (1915-1981)
JUANITA BROOKS (1898-1989)
OLIVE W. BURT (1894-1981)
EUGENE E. CAMPBELL (1915-1986)
C. GREGORY CRAMPTON (1911-1995)
EVERETT L. COOLEY
S. GEORGE ELLSWORTH (1916-1997)
AUSTIN E. FIFE (1909-1986)
PETER L. GOSS
LEROY R. HAFEN (1893-1985)
JESSE D. JENNINGS (1909-1997)
A. KARL LARSON (1899-1983)
GUSTIVE O. LARSON (1897-1983)
BRIGHAM D. MADSEN
DEAN L. MAY (1938-2003)
DAVID E. MILLER (1909-1978)
DALE L. MORGAN (1914-1971)
WILLIAM MULDER
FLOYD A. O'NEIL
HELEN Z. PAPANIKOLAS (1917-2004)
CHARLES S. PETERSON
RICHARD W. SADLER
WALLACE E. STEGNER (1909-1993)

HONORARY LIFE MEMBERS

DAVID BIGLER
VEE CARLISLE
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LAMAR PETERSEN
RICHARD C. ROBERTS
MELVIN T. SMITH
MARTHA R. STEWART